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12 October 1983

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2213

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ALBANIA

PARTY DAILY REPORTS BUSH VIENNA SPEECH

AU281104 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 23 Sep 83 p 4

[Text] Vienna, 22 Sep--American Vice President George Bush delivered a speech in Vienna entitled "The Relations of the United States With Central and East Europe." American officials called Bush's speech the most important speech made during his 11-day tour of Africa and Europe. As news agencies emphasize, Bush called upon the Eastern European countries to cut off their present ties with Moscow and to form closer ties with the West. He emphasized that for this reason the United States will pursue a policy of "differentiation" toward the East European countries. A basic premise of this policy toward these countries is that Washington "does not accept this division of Europe."

News agencies point out that Bush attempted to argue that the change in American policy toward Europe does not mean that the United States will attempt to destabilize or undermine any government. But on the other hand, he emphasized that Washington "will support and encourage all movements promoting social ideals," which implies the further insertion of the American way of life into these countries, and their detachment from their close ties with Moscow in order to direct these ties much more toward the West and especially the United States.

CSO: 2100/3

NATIONAL SEMINAR HELD ON ROLE OF PEOPLE'S COUNCILS

AU282004 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 28 Sep 83

[Text] In the course of implementing the tasks set out by the Eighth AWP Congress to strengthen the work of the people's councils and their permanent commissions, a national seminar was organized today in Lushnje by the Presidium of the People's Assembly which examined problems pertaining to elevating further the role and activity of the people's council commissions in following up the implementation of the tasks set by the party in the field of agriculture.

The seminar was attended by the chairmen and secretaries of the permanent commissions for agriculture of the district people's councils. Xhafer Spahiu, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Themie Thomai, minister of agriculture; Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Dhimiter Petro, chairman of the permanent commission for agriculture of the People's Assembly; leading party and state cadres from Lushnje District, and other guests were also present.

The seminar examined the positive experience of the permanent commission for agriculture of the Lushnje District People's Council in perfecting the method and style of work in resolving problems pertaining to the intensification of agriculture. The commission was said to have done good work in organizing the work to check on the implementation of the decisions of the party, of various state organs, and of the people's council on matters pertaining to the production of grains, livestock husbandry, horticulture, vegetable growing, cotton growing, and so forth, setting tasks and resolving various problems. The commission was said to have done particularly good work in carrying out studies connected with the concentration, specialization, and circulation of crops on the basis of the advanced experience of the Plase cooperative in Korce District.

The participants exchanged opinions on ways of further improving the work of the commissions. Working groups, including members of agricultural commissions of people's councils, specialists, and activists, examined various problems pertaining to agricultural production. Various speakers stressed the need for scientific planning in the activity of the commissions and in resolving the most important problems, as well as the need for better cooperation and coordination of work with other permanent commissions and the mass organizations.

Comrade Xhafer Spahiu also addressed the seminar.

CSO: 2100/3

RESEARCH INTO PLACE NAMES PROVES CONTINUITY OF RESIDENCE

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Sep 83 p 3

[Article: "Achievements, Problems and Tasks of Toponymic Research," interview with Prof Mahir Domi]

[Excerpts] Question: In recent years, especially, there has been much talk about place names and about geographic proper names of various types. Can you tell us why there is this interest?

Answer: The study of place names has always been of special importance for the history of the Albanian language and of the Albanian people. These names present strong arguments supporting Illyrian-Albanian continuity and the fact that our people were the indigenous inhabitants in their present place of residence.

Question: What has been done up to now in the field of toponymy and what have been the main directions and achievements of this study?

Answer: Over the years, the research institutes involved have been collecting and studying place names. The Institute of Linguistics and Literature embarked on an extensive campaign, on the national level, a few years ago, with the assistance of teachers. So far it has been able to collect more than 160,000 entries for the main card file of place names and to arouse the interest of many people in the study of place names.

Along with the collection of the material, the publication of some of the material and research activity by linguists and historians began some 10 years ago. Reports were presented at scientific sessions of linguistic groups in the districts or at the annual meetings of sectors of the Institute of Linguistics and Literature. Articles and monographs have been published and a special session on toponymy was held in Kabash in Puke District.

In recent years, toponymy has been used more and more in the treatment of a number of important problems related to the language and history of our people. The place names have provided valuable arguments for rejecting erroneous and tendentious theses and for supporting correct theses of national importance. In last year's National Conference [on the Formation of the Albanian People, Its Culture and Language] and in the scientific sessions on the

same subject in Shkoder and Sarande, toponymy was utilized extensively in the reports and papers for the purpose of shedding light on the great subject of the origin of the Albanian language and of the Albanian people and some important issues of our historic past.

For years, our new linguistics, mainly through the research work of Prof E Cabej, has rejected the a priori, unfounded thesis that some Albanian place names, such as Shkoder, Lezhe, Durres, Drin, Tomor, etc., in their present form, show the intervention of another language. It has proven the opposite-- that these names and other names, which have their source in ancient times, dispersed from Kosovo and Skopje as far as southern Albania, corresponded, in their phonetic development, to the rules of our language. Therefore, they are evidence of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity and the fact that our people were the indigenous inhabitants in their present place of residence.

It should be added that, in recent years, good work has been done in the field of toponymy by Albanian scholars in Kosovo and Macedonia. They have collected and published materials; they have written works. In 1977, a symposium was held in Pristina dealing with place names and personal names in Kosovo. It presented valuable information shedding light on a number of issues related to the history of this area.

Question: What are the present and future tasks of toponymic research?

Answer: First of all, we must continue, at a more rapid pace and on more accurate scientific criteria, and we must complete the collection of place names in our country, finding the most suitable methods and taking the necessary measures. We must trace and record Albanian place names which appear in Latin, Byzantine, Slavic, Italian, Turkish and other historical and literary sources on the Middle Ages and on ancient times. Once all the toponymic material is collected, both from the present and from the past, and is well organized into the card file, it will become necessary to publish it in a scientific manner, aiming at the creation of collections needed for various studies.

Also, extensive research work should be undertaken on present-day and historic place names and on related matters, on the basis of a long range plan which is coordinated at the national level.

In the near future, there is the task of writing a comprehensive treatise entitled "Toponimia e Shqiperise" [The Toponymy of Albania] and an informative work on the subject for the general public.

CSO: 2100/4

TRENDS IN RADAR ANTENNA DEVELOPMENT REPORTED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1983 (signed to press 15 May 83)
pp 208-209

[Article by Col S. Fiedler, engineer: "Modern Antennas for Radar Stations"]

[Text] Two essential combat characteristics of radar stations (FuMS) are the acquisition zone and the quality of the radar information (the latter being characterized by completeness, precision and timeliness). These are affected decisively by the antenna system, in addition to a number of other factors.

This article brings together some investigations of and computations for new antennas on the basis of general technical and theoretical principles. Above all it is intended that the article shall deepen understanding of the evaluation of the antenna directive pattern and of orientation methods. The exposition relates exclusively to antennas in the meter wavelength region but is analogously applicable also to decimeter antennas.

With the introduction of new radar stations various routes present themselves toward perfecting the antenna directive pattern. The most essential routes are: reduction of the path-value breadth of the horizontal pattern, reduction of the level of the secondary pattern (or its complete suppression) as well as perfecting the vertical patterns.

The methods available for improving the horizontal patterns are generally known and present no problems in the field. On the other hand there is frequently a lack of the specialized knowledge required for the most comprehensive and conscious utilization of the potentialities of vertical patterns in solving combat problems. For this reason we describe in the following the formation of the vertical patterns and their appropriate use.

If the vertical pattern of a radar station is being designed then one strives to meet as well as possible the tactical-technical requirements of maximum range r_{\max} , maximum orientation elevation H_{\max} , minimum elevation angle ϵ_{\min} and the maximum elevation angle ϵ_{\max} . Usually one obtains the antenna pattern shown in Figures 1 and 2 as a dotted line; this is the cosecant-square pattern. This is characterized primarily by two features:

On the one hand the oblique distance, seen from the radar station, is constant in the range of elevation angles between ϵ_{\min} and ϵ_1 and is equal to the required magnitude r_{\max} . This yields the so-called triangular lobes of the vertical pattern. On the other hand in the elevation angle range from ϵ_1 to ϵ_{\max} the orientation elevation is constant. In consequence the oblique distance r_s is a function of the elevation angle. This gives rise to the so-called cosecant lobe of the pattern.

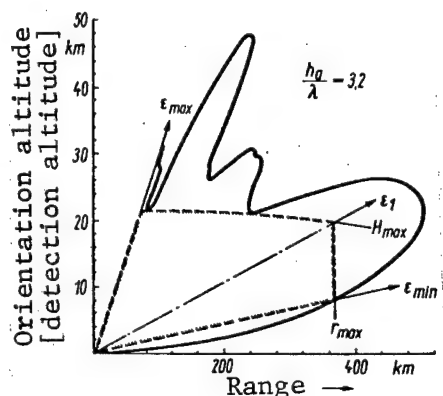


Fig. 1. Vertical directive pattern of a fixed antenna at normal antenna height.

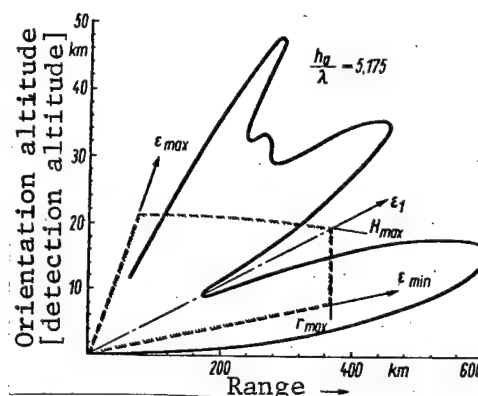


Fig. 2. Vertical directive pattern of an antenna which is fixed, also elevated.

In practice it is extremely difficult to achieve the ideal shape of the pattern. As a rule one only succeeds in forming a summation pattern composed of partial patterns which forms an envelope of the required ideal characteristic.

1. The Principle of the Formation of the Vertical Antenna Directive Pattern

The vertical pattern of antennas of a radar station depends essentially upon the free space characteristic of the antenna, upon the location of the antenna, upon the transmission power and upon the receiving sensitivity. The free-space characteristic of the antenna $A(\epsilon)$ is its directive pattern in the vertical plane excluding the effect of the earth's surface. The earth's surface, the location of a ground radar station, affects the intensity of the reflections at natural and artificial ground obstacles. The earth's surface is characterized by the reflection factor p and direction factor $S(\epsilon)$. The transmitter power and also receiver sensitivity are two of the magnitudes of a radar station which yield the maximum possible range of the radar station R_0 or in other words which enter into the so-called fundamental equation of radio orientation.

The free-space characteristic is dependent upon the specific type of the antenna. Figure 3 shows one of its possible configurations. The precise data may be taken from the technical documentation for the given radar station. Radar stations in actual use possess as a rule a free-space characteristic

which is also symmetrical to the line of the horizon, that is, at equal elevation angles ϵ equal energy components are radiated both directly into space and also in the direction of the earth's surface. The energy radiated in the direction of the earth's surface is in turn partially reflected by the latter. Thus the electromagnetic field established at an arbitrary point above the surface of the earth consists of the sum--or better, of the interference--of two waves, the direct and the reflected, each radiating at the same elevation angle (see Figure 4).

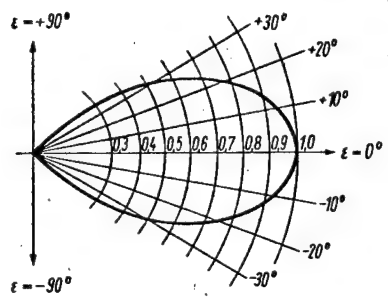


Fig. 3. Normalized vertical free-space characteristic of a horizontally polarized Yagi antenna.

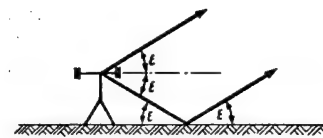


Fig. 4. Principle of the production of the direct and reflected electromagnetic waves of a Yagi antenna.

The result of the interference is expressed mathematically by the direction factor of the terrestrial reflection in accordance with equation (1):

$$S(\epsilon) = \sqrt{1 + p^2 - 2p \cdot \cos(4\pi/\lambda \cdot h_a \cdot \sin \epsilon)}, \quad (1)$$

where p is the reflection factor, dependent upon the elevation angle and upon the polarization of the electromagnetic waves incident upon the surface of the earth, λ is the wavelength of the radiated electromagnetic energy, h_a is the height of the antenna above the surface of the earth, ϵ is an elevation angle.

Figure 5 shows the dependence of the direction factor of the terrestrial reflection for horizontal polarization at various antenna heights. Thus the direction factor of the terrestrial reflection depends upon the ratio h_a/λ .

With increasing antenna height there is an increase in the number of maxima and the first maximum is shifted in the direction of lower elevation angle.

Bearing in mind the preceding remarks, the vertical antenna directive pattern may be represented by the following mathematical relation:

$$r(\epsilon) = R_0 \cdot A(\epsilon) \cdot S(\epsilon). \quad (2)$$

This pattern has a shape which approximates the direction factor of terrestrial reflection; it possesses pronounced maxima and minima and hence does not yet correspond to the required cosecant-square characteristic. In order

to eliminate this deficiency, in practice one always employs antennas having two antenna planes. Their height above the surface of the earth, the spacing between the two antennas planes, the distribution of power between the antenna planes and the phasing of the feed to the two antennas are so selected as to meet the tactical-technical requirements of the radar station.

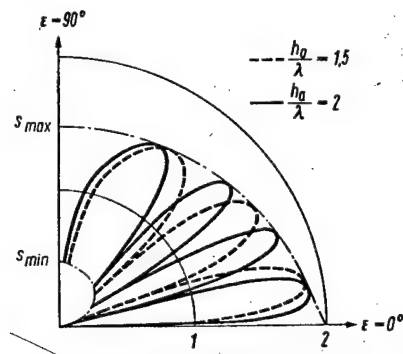


Fig. 5. Graphical representation of the direction factor of terrestrial reflection $S(\epsilon)$ for various antenna heights: $S_{\max}(\epsilon) = 1 + |p|$, $S_{\min}(\epsilon) = 1 - |p|$.

At the same time the changes introduced in modern antennas relate principally to four aspects of the matter: In general one wants to increase the range of the radar station and the elevation of the closed vertical pattern consistently with modern flight altitudes. At the same time one aims at allowing flexible applicability also for low altitudes and one seeks to guarantee the functioning of the radar station throughout a broad frequency range without change in the shape of the directive pattern. The antennas of the new generation of radar stations meet these requirements. Figure 1 shows an example for such a vertical pattern ($h_a/\lambda = 3.2$).

2. Factors Affecting the Shape of the Vertical Directive Pattern

The actual shape of the vertical directive pattern depends naturally upon the actual site of the radar station, in other words upon the reflective characteristics of the earth's surface and upon the topography of the terrain in the immediate environment of the location. We do not mean to investigate these influence factors more closely in this article. Rather we are concerned with showing those factors which can be used by the station crew in combat work. In so doing we shall assume an ideal planar site for the radar station.

2.1. Selection of the Actual Antenna Height

The antennas of modern radar stations can be unfolded at various mast heights. This necessitates selection of an actual antenna height on the basis of the intended purpose of the radar station and the existing combat task. Figure 2 shows the pattern for increased antenna height ($h_a/\lambda = 5.175$).

It is clear from a comparison of Figures 1 and 2 that a lower antenna height permits a greater detection altitude (closed pattern up to about 22 km

altitude). At the same time a greater antenna height results in a considerable increase in the range of the radar station at low altitudes. The pattern itself, however, is more ragged and possesses a larger "dead funnel."

Thus in the selection of the antenna height there is no ideal case. One must always find an optimum based upon the combat task. In order to have greater range at low altitudes one should, of course, select a greater antenna height. But it must be clear to the station crew that closed targeting at medium and high altitudes is in such a case possible only in cooperation with other radar stations.

2.2. Swiveling the Antenna Directive Pattern

Modern radar stations permit swiveling of the antenna system through relatively large angles. This has the effect of substantially changing the directive pattern so that an efficient use of the radar station in its actual position presupposes an exact knowledge of the pattern for various angles of rotation of the antenna.

Negative angles of rotation are predominantly employed in order to compensate for negative terrain angles, i.e., in order to secure a closed pattern even in the case of a negative terrain angle. Positive angles of rotation are intended to increase the detection altitude of the radar station and to reduce the dead funnel.

As may be seen in Figure 6 these requirements are well met by modern antennas. The pattern shown here differs fundamentally from the pattern of Figure 1 although the antenna height is the same in both cases. A comparison of the patterns in Figures 1 and 6 implies that an autonomous functioning of the radar station for air space surveillance is possible only with an unswiveled antenna.

Nevertheless, one should retain the ability to operate with a swivel antenna when this is preferable under special conditions. Here one should give first place to the coupled operation of the radar station within a radar complex in order to perfect the radar field at extremely great altitudes and in order to reduce the dead funnel of the working medium [der arbeitenden Mittel]. In addition may be listed the detection and tracking of flight bodies at extremely great altitudes. The advantages of variable swivel angles are clearly apparent, independently of flight elevation and detection distance. Thus it is desirable to select detection patterns which lie between those shown in Figures 1 and 6. Finally, swiveling of the antenna is indispensable for autonomous detection and tracking of air-to-ground and ground-to-ground rockets.

The investigations of detection patterns for a swiveled antenna yield in addition a further conclusion. The operation of the antenna swiveling demands from the station crew a detailed knowledge of the detection conditions existing at the actual station site for various angles of rotation. In order to work with the swivel antenna it does not suffice to follow a mechanical routine; even less does it suffice to follow a policy of "let's try it and see." Successful operation which makes use of antenna rotation presupposes a concretely conducted combat training.

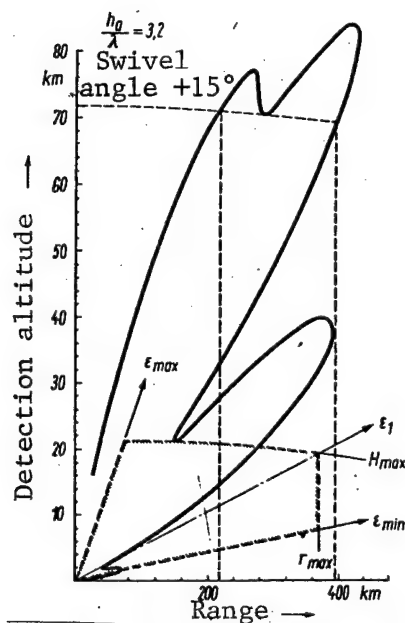


Fig. 6. Vertical directive pattern at normal antenna height and for an antenna rotated through $+15^\circ$.

It is apparent from the above discussion that the antennas of modern radar stations perform an important function in securing tactical-technical data. In order to establish antenna patterns corresponding to modern requirements the radar stations are equipped with complicated and exactly adjusted mechanical antenna designs. In the course of their use they are subjected to high stresses. They are very sensitive to mechanical damage or deformations. Even trifling changes in the structure lead to substantial changes in the antenna directive pattern. Therefore all station crews must attach equal importance to continuous readiness maintenance and to full utilization of the existing capabilities of this important apparatus. In addition to a full understanding of the detection conditions dependent upon the pattern, the tasks of the station crew also include unconditionally the maintenance of the antenna installation, checking its precise adjustment and also the careful handling of this equipment when it is in use, especially during maneuvers.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION STATISTICS PUBLISHED--According to the figures of the foreign press agency 'PANORAMA GDR', 7.7 million of the 16.7 million inhabitants of our country belong to the Evangelical Church and 1.2 million belong to the Catholic Church. Another 200,000 inhabitants are members of 40 independent churches and other religious associations. The Jewish communities number about 600 members. These figures are contained in the latest edition of a brochure about Christians and churches in the GDR which was just published by the press agency. According to the same publication, there are 1037 Catholic pastoral positions in our republic. The number of priests is given as about 1300, of whom 150 are members of orders. In the GDR there are about 300 cloisters and other religious establishments belonging to 35 predominantly female religious communities. [Text] [East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 23, No 9, Sep 83 p 29]

CSO: 2300/7

PARTY DAILY DEPUTY EDITOR DISCUSSES NEW TRENDS OF REFORM

Budapest NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY in English Vol XXIV No 91 Autumn 1983 pp 43-56

[Article by Peter Renyi]

[Text]

That the socialist system needs reforming is an axiom which is not to be identified with the necessity to remedy abuses, to stop and adjust faulty developments. Much more is at issue. This ought to be pointed out on principle even if it is sometimes very difficult in the practice of politics to separate the reforms necessitated by natural development from measures serving the rectification of wrong decisions and of their consequences.

For a start it should be said clearly: all the competent theoreticians of scientific socialism, Karl Marx in the first place, took as a starting point that socialism is a period of transition.

What has been accomplished by the revolutionary seizure of power and by the socialist state taking possession of the basic means of production is no more than creating the most important prerequisites for the transition from capitalism to communism.

Unfortunately, this notion is often forgotten. Reference is still more often made to the specific disadvantages of building socialism in underdeveloped or less developed countries, which as is well known differs from what was supposed by Marx and Engels, who thought that socialism would first be victorious in the highly developed countries. At the same time they were convinced that a transitory form, an entire epoch, would be needed even there before it became possible completely to overcome the old system. The only way that can be understood is that gradual changes must take place; what such a transition period could involve is precisely a series of reforms which bring society closer to the new goal.

What Engels calls the passage of socialism from utopia to science, and what emerges again and again from political statements by Marx and Engels, is the realization that the new society cannot suddenly be born of the turn brought about by the proletarian revolution as Pallas Athena did from the forehead of Zeus. Little seemed more important to the classics of socialism than to combat, to refute the utopianism to which the working-class movement was so much inclined, particularly in its beginnings. It followed from the spirit of Marxian teaching that the new social system could

develop and consolidate only on a changed economic basis, which was unimaginable without a protracted reform process, especially in the economy.

The Dialectics of Revolution and Reform

We should not and cannot hide that socialism has so far never really coped with this dialectic of revolution and reform. The reasons for it might well be found deep in the human soul: a victorious revolution following a long period of ruthless oppression and exploitation is an elementary experience that awakens a feeling of omnipotence. All that one has wished or hoped for seems to be within one's grasp, it only depends on one's will and resolution, one imagines, that it be carried out. That after so great and so very promising a leap in social conditions, years or maybe decades are required to mould a new society out of the new power, and with it, is a challenge which people are not able to meet immediately.

In the early days following such a change there are few politicians able to tell people the truth even if they have recognized it. Enthusiasm, the certainty of a shiny future seem so unambiguous that even powerful, circumspect and thoughtful personalities are not always able to swim against the tide. Even a thoroughly realistic political thinker such as Lenin with his outstanding theoretical knowledge was carried along by this current in the very first stage of the revolution. At any rate, he then possessed the spiritual and moral strength to take stock of himself and to act resolutely against the dreams and illusions of that time. Others were unable to do so.

It is up to scholars to describe concretely these historical processes; what I should like to confine myself to here is to point out the tremendous difficulties which became apparent already in Lenin's lifetime, and which as is known grew ever more serious after his death, especially owing to Stalin's dogmatism. During the 1920s and in the early 1930s the reform plans formulated by Lenin were still effective, but the essential decisions like the New Economic Policy (NEP) were not consistently implemented, while many features of war communism had unintentionally—during the wars of intervention, inevitably and necessarily—became permanent socialist norms. And yet the NEP was the first major sign of a reform line which should have been pursued in order to progress.

Closer accommodation to this line was resumed only in the middle of the 1950s and was established at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a matter of principle. Until then, however, a good many years had elapsed, including the years of the war against aggressive nazi Germany, with its terrible hardships and heroic sacrifices, which naturally did not permit the problem of reforms to be raised; only after the reconstruction of the country could the question be posed again.

In those years, however, Stalin's attitude was just the opposite; in his last economic essays he displayed an utopianism that was altogether unrealistic, discussing direct barter as the timely preliminary stage of the realization of communism, about the need to exclude money and com-

modity relations from the economy, in other words, to put a definite end to the period of transition, to the reform stage.

After the 20th Congress of the CPSU

Whoever would like to conclude from these circumstances that here lies the proof that the system is incapable of reform must, on the one hand, deny the historic feat of the 20th Congress and, on the other, pass over the tremendous difficulties created by long-existing habits, which one had to cope with in the post-Stalin days.

No doubt victory over the fascist aggressor was also a proof of the enormous vigour and performance of socialist industrialization which naturally enhanced the prestige of the practice of strong centralization; experiments with new reforms and all their risks were far more unfavourably placed. The more so since this new start was made in the Cold War era, under the massive threat of an adversary who was still militarily superior at that time. In such conditions transition to a reform line was by no means simple.

Let us recall the tensions towards the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s when the issue was the reinforced development of agriculture and light industries, in general, growth in consumption. This switch was not made easier by the fact that Khrushchev, who was very much for change, for a time indulged in utopian notions of another sort, and preferred a radical turn to step by step reconstruction. The method of step by step reforms received a realistic and consistent advocate only when Brezhnev headed the Central Committee. What was done in respect of reforms in politics and economy since his assumption of office should not be underestimated. Compared to the preceding period, the reform process was clearly speeded up and deepened; growth, modernization and intensive development of economy in all fields testify to this.

That the pace of this development, in spite of very significant results, was not everywhere in step with the growing requirements, that even today there are shortages and bottlenecks in supply and production, permits the observer to wonder about the retarding factors, but no one who bears the facts in mind can doubt the direction, the tendency of events. What appears in the western propaganda media about this today is an irresponsible distortion of the state of affairs. The shortcomings of reforms which could rightly be criticized are reinterpreted and twisted into an inability to reform; relative, temporary difficulties are described as a complete hopelessness which allegedly proves that the system has exhausted itself, that it is broke, and the like.

Despite such assertions responsible leaders of the Soviet Union keep their minds on the job. Anyone who impartially listens to their explanations will not be able to deny that their statements—see in particular the reports made to the Central Committee at its meetings, and at Party congresses—are overwhelmingly of a critical character; and the press likewise publishes

a large number of accounts and analyses in which the authors do not fail to call a spade a spade.

This has become particularly obvious since Yuri Andropov's appointment as General Secretary. In recent months the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government have introduced an essentially tougher regime which, as regards good order and discipline—in distinction to the earlier widespread practice—lays the stress on more being demanded not only for those working at the bench but also vis à vis management. There are some in the West who would like to interpret this as the new broom sweeping clean of the old type; every observer who knows his job however agrees that what Andropov has done cannot be thus categorized. In his interpretation good order and discipline are the equivalent of the implementation of modernization, long urged as a matter of policy, not the pickling of habitual methods or the rigidities of law and order.

Additional Burdens

As regards the causes of the delays, of the very slow march of this process, which I have already indicated in part, I should like to mention another two momentous circumstances which are often overlooked. One is the conflict with China that has cast a shadow over the whole new period of reforms; since the time of the Cold War—to say nothing of earlier periods—the Soviet Union has had to bear enormous burdens in order to ensure its security and peace; an important part of its national product has been (and still is) swallowed up by armaments, by the maintenance of military equilibrium.

This has been the rule for so long that many people seem to have already forgotten that this is an unnatural condition. That this burden has increased a great deal since the hostile volte-face of the Chinese against the Soviets is seldom taken note of anywhere. At the same time this additional burden grew precisely at a time when the readiness for economic reforms was in the ascendant.

There is really no need to explain at length how much economic reforms depend on the capacity and financial resources of the economy. Starting with investment to risks that always have to be borne in mind when experimenting reforms reckon with material reserves. If an economy is heavily drawn on by unproductive expenses like armaments and the military budget, reform potentialities are also restricted; this is self-evident. (Though there are reforms which can be introduced without any major material outlay, primarily those that introduce new, rational methods of management.)

The second circumstance I should like to mention here is not political but factual in nature. In the Soviet economy two processes coincided which are not at all organically connected but which produce reinforced effects through their simultaneous appearance. I mean, on the one hand, the complications which set in with the extraction of the most essential raw materials because of the exhaustion of traditional sources and which caused

a considerable rise in the hitherto very low production costs; on the other hand, I mean the entry of the Soviet economy in the phase of intensive development—a task which, according to Tikhonov at the 26th Congress of the CPSU—is comparable to the first industrialization of the country, both as far as its significance and required efforts and sacrifices are concerned.

Coping with two such comprehensive tasks at the same time—under present world-market conditions and in the face of the U.S. collision course in world politics—obviously imposes additional burdens. It is nevertheless quite certain that the reform policy will not only be simply continued but, in spite of all unpleasant and negative factors, be even more assertively carried out.

One might ask why. If so many reasons and mitigating circumstances are found to explain the prevailing problems as those enumerated above (to which many more could be added), does one not seek exemption from duty to reform? Certainly not.

What I wish to say here in the following, even though only in outlines, is based on an inverted logic, to which we are encouraged by Hungarian development experience over the past quarter of a century. Critical situations, crises, emergencies and serious complications certainly have a decelerating effect on progress in so far as they deteriorate the objective preconditions; this is true; but the impacts of such a situation are not so unequivocally negative in the subjective sphere. There, in a given constellation, the opposite can happen, realizations can be accelerated, experience can more quickly be analysed, processes of thought can delve deeper, and delayed decisions can faster mature into action.

In every system the economy is the driving force, the motor of progress—a Marxian maxim that has by now become a commonplace. But also the economy—who could deny it today, what with so many crises in so many different countries?—is prone to inertia. All the dominant trends of the economy can be traced back to great uncommon impulses or to great crises, to pressures under which something had to be done that was long ago urged by reason and was not done merely because of inertia and clumsiness, adherence to habits and laziness. The history of the capitalist economy provides eloquent examples as, for example, the great world economic crisis which indeed, as regards economic reforms, gave rise to the New Deal, the first attempt at a consumer society, which became the model for post-war development in Western Europe. A crisis had to occur first before ideas which had long existed in the theory of capitalist reforms could be translated into practice.

Hungary after 1956

Different as the case or daring as the analogy may be, I should like to mention as another example the post-1956 development of Hungary, particularly just in order to show that under the pressure of a disastrous situation it was possible to carry out a reform policy which was historically

necessary but had earlier been impeded by different circumstances. The fate of Hungary, the course it travelled after 1956, surprised—precisely with this peculiarity—many observers and many participants in the events, including a few who left the country at that time.

Following a counter-revolution—a national tragedy as we also call the events of those days—those who already then considered the socialist system to be incapable of reform could imagine nothing but a régime of retaliation, of revenge, of increased oppression of all who were of a different opinion—that is, anything but reforms. People were perplexed to see that everything happened quite differently; they did not credit the social system with this flexibility, this consciousness of reality, this capability of self-critical analysis and change; renewal, a dynamic renewal at that, looked to outsiders like an impossibility.

The reminder which Hungarian consolidation, the reform policy of the HSWP, gave the opposite side was not only proof that things in Hungary had changed. (To explain this change all sorts of explanations were concocted, to which I shall still return.) The greatest surprise about which one prudently kept silent was the attitude of the socialist community, including the attitude of the Soviet leadership, which not only tolerated this reform policy but gave it active support! A hysterical outcry all over the world followed the fact that the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, as the Hungarian Council of Ministers called itself at that time, asked for the help of the Soviets to restore public order; that precisely these Soviets declared their complete solidarity with Kádár's policy, however, was not even mentioned.

That the Hungarian way out (to use this rather unusual technical term) would be the way of reforms—and not merely a correction of the serious mistakes committed by the earlier Party and State leaders, not only the elimination of the revisionist idea—was plain from the beginning. The resolution passed by the Provisional Central Committee of the HSWP on 5 December 1956 (only a month after the formation of the new government!) included a comprehensive reform programme which covered all fields of political, intellectual and social life and could be called the timetable that was to determine development in Hungary and has continued to determine it for more than twenty-five years now.

It would take us too far and also take up too much space if I went into details of the Hungarian history of this past quarter of a century, I should like to confine myself to one or two examples which show how this process took place, and yet I do not wish to overlook—*quod erat demonstrandum*—that the pressure of the constellation given at that time were very important promoting and expediting factors.

The interpretation of this logic can of course be carried to absurdity, that the counter-revolution, the loss of confidence and all other misfortunes of that time were a desirable boon, a healing process, which one ought to wish to others as well. This would be the unfairest interpretation possible of this train of thought. What I should like to give evidence for is not the necessity of the events of 1956 but the possibility of finding a way out of such a disaster (which could have been avoided had it not been for

the failures which had led to it). The conclusion to be drawn is of course that the experience of that time should serve to help prevent any similar catastrophes.

The most fundamental recognition was, abstract though that may sound, that the building of socialism required far more time and patience than had been imagined earlier. In other words: that the new society can be built only in agreement with the masses, the working people, step by step, not by forced actions of an avant-garde that imposes its will on the people and moves through thick and thin to get its way, but by persuading people. Naturally, not by a surrender of socialist objectives, not by a kind of reformism that contents itself to administer what is, and postpones the attainment of goals to a vague and uncertain future.

An Optical Illusion

What followed from this notion was the principal slogan of the HSWP, the axiom of a fight on two fronts—against both sectarian-dogmatic deviation and the tendency of revisionism—for a consistent but also realistic policy which paves its way by well-considered reforms. We owe all the achievements of Hungarian political activity to this way of thinking and to the ensuing methods of action.

Western observers of the Hungarian scene time and again fall into the error of considering all processes in Hungary which they find to be positive as an approximation to the capitalist system—in the sense of an overall convergence or as an expression of a pragmatism which, where it can see no other solution, takes over particular methods of capitalism—that is, as a move in the direction of capitalism.

This is—one must say that plainly though it may displease certain western observers well disposed towards Hungary—an optical illusion.

Naturally, a socialist reform policy, which started from the recognition that much had earlier been done overhastily, and what was not feasible had been propelled ahead by force, had to fall back on measures—first of all in the field of the economy—which stood closer to the capitalist phase; one had to give up specious viewpoints and proclaimed positions which had not in fact been reached, in order to start afresh and on a more reliable basis. Not in order to move backwards, into the past, but in order to find a realistic socialist way leading the country in the desired direction, even if this took longer.

To stay with this concluding phrase: it has been proved especially by the example I should like to point out here—by the show-piece, as it were, of Hungarian reform policy, that is the collectivization and modernization of Hungarian agriculture—that patience and readiness for compromise do not definitely signify that the processes become longer, that more time is needed.

Prior to 1956 three attempts were made to draw the peasants into co-operatives. The first was successful in part, the second and third brought

no lasting and positive results, on the contrary: not only the collective farms rigged up by administrative and economic pressures failed to function, but the whole of agriculture languished; in 1952/53, for example, one million acres of arable land lay fallow, the provisioning of the public was in a bad state indeed.

When in 1959, three years after 1956—three years during which the peasants were not interfered with in any way, when they could do with their plots as they pleased and even received help from the state—the organization of producers' cooperatives in the villages was started carefully and cautiously, strictly on the basis of voluntary joining, everything went on much more rapidly than had been imagined.

Agriculture as the Example

The plan had been to unite about half of agriculture under socialist management in the currency of the next five-year plan, by 1965. Nevertheless, 95 per cent of all privately owned land was collectivized in two years, which was certainly a sign of confidence in the new policy in general and a consequence of the entirely different, democratic and tolerant methods employed this time.

Three important factors should be mentioned here: the right of cooperative members to elect the chairman and the management of their cooperative from their own ranks; the admission of those who had earlier been described as kulaks, who were allowed to join if the majority approved; the compensation which the members were paid (out of credits advanced by the state) for livestock and implements they took with them into the collective farm, and the obligation of the cooperative to pay ground-rent to the members in keeping with the size and value of the land they brought with them.

One could name many other measures which were introduced at that time—before 1956 there was nothing like them. The general public in the West is informed again and again that the secret of the success of Hungarian agriculture lies in the household plots of cooperative peasants (about half a hectare of land cultivated privately by the members who also raise animals there, etc.). Many think of them as a special Hungarian invention where crops are so considerable because they are permitted oases of capitalism. This is not true. The idea of household plots originates with Lenin and is considered legitimate in all the socialist states. What is true is that this sector facilitated the adjustment of peasants (accustomed to individual farming) to the cooperative. This form of farming turned out so efficient because it was coupled with a large-scale production. Had Hungary not succeeded in elevating the collective farms to so high a standard, the household plots could not have become as successful as they are today. The fodder for the animals kept on household plots: grain, maize, etc. is often all produced by the cooperative peasant in his other capacity, as a member of the collective, on the lands of the cooperative given to him in remuneration for work done there.

The best evidence is the fact that with the strengthening of the co-operatives the income of members from household plots has also increased and is today higher than ever before. Instrumental in this was of course also that the principle and the practice of the household farms was upheld and defended against all secretarian-dogmatic ideas which appeared from time to time, even if with diminishing strength.

It was, however, just as important—and maybe most important of all to the entire process—that after the collectivization drive or, more precisely after the organization of cooperatives the state invested in agriculture all funds available for this purpose; it placed modern technology, technical skill and know-how, which it had to buy abroad for hard currency for the most part, at their disposal. The notion, which had certainly existed earlier, that the industrialization of the country must be carried through at the expense of agriculture, was utterly rejected, available funds were allocated both to industry and agriculture, with a certain preference for the latter which had fallen back considerably.

The exploitation of personal financial incentives as well as the autonomy of the cooperatives, full equality of rights, the free unfolding of democracy in these organizations—all this, together with the development of the chemical industry, fertilizer production, farm machinery and the food processing industry, has had as a consequence that Hungarian agriculture now attracts world-wide attention and its yields are close to the highest world standards. I should like to add, however, that one cannot rest content with such results, there are still substantial reserves in agriculture which must be exploited.

This short and naturally incomplete presentation of the agricultural reforms could serve here—*pars pro toto*—as a model for many other operations, including far more complicated schemes, like the major economic reform of 1968. What actually ought to be done, and what is obviously no easy task, would be to demonstrate that in this past quarter of a century Hungary—particularly as regards the economy but in other fields, too—finds itself in a permanent and all-round reform process, a developmental stage in which the various reforms cover more or less all sectors of the economy as well as social life, and do not only make up a complex whole but have grown into a natural way of living.

Reforms can also be Reformed

There is no denying that in Hungary there are some who are made nervous by this practice, who cannot understand that just this mobility, this flexibility and adaptability have helped to maintain a relative stability even in recent, increasingly difficult years. This dialectic, the connection between readiness for reform and stable balance, does not persuade all; some complain of pragmatism; they believe the swift reactions of economic policy to be indicative of something suspicious; the undoubted feverishness of present conditions, which are a reflection of the feverishness of the world-

market and world politics, seems uncanny to them. One must treat it with understanding, I mention this also not as a reproach but just in order to point out how deeply society is affected by the reform idea.

In this country one is astonished to read the comments in the bourgeois media which mean to discover in the reforms beginning with the year 1982 (which aim at encouraging the opening of small economic units, the leasing of restaurants and small shops, the promotion of handicrafts in the state, co-operative and private sectors) an entirely unexpected and new way of thinking in Hungary, whereas what is involved in this case is only a relatively small fraction of economic activities. Much more important things in the sphere of reforms were taken no notice of, or rather were not interpreted as results of the new reform-mindedness.

One ought to recognise first of all the dynamism which society displays in its adaptation to the rapidly changing situation in the world. Whoever takes into account what has been done in the past few months, late in 1982 and early in 1983, to improve the balance of foreign trade, to augment exports for convertible currency, to increase the competitiveness of Hungarian products, to tackle the liquidity problems of the country, to overcome at least some of the obstacles such as sanctions, embargoes, discriminating and protectionist measures in the West—must admit, especially if he considers that all these steps entail also domestic consequences, that Hungary is a state capable of reform, able to react quickly to very abrupt changes as well.

Whoever observes the speed of reactions, from Hungary's accession to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank up to the devaluation of the forint, the rise in the rate of interest on internal bank loans to enterprises, the unexpected but unfortunately inevitable price increases introduced in August 1982, the import restrictions notified to GATT in September 1982, the most diverse actions intended to stimulate people's disposition to innovations—cannot deny that a lively economy is at work here which is not afraid of changes, accepts the risks and possesses a spirit of enterprise.

And—one ought likewise not to leave this unsaid—it does not regard its own reforms as dogmas, does not shrink back from reforming reforms under as unusual conditions as those prevailing at present either, or from repealing or modifying if necessary what is not practicable for the time being, etc. In addition, the system has sufficient self-confidence to adopt also unpopular measures, to put up with more tensions in society and conflicting interests, a fact which indicates that it can rely on the people who are aware of the sincere presentation of facts at home and abroad, and are always given all essential information.

Changes are Immanent in the System

What I tried to demonstrate here must not be interpreted as maintaining that we had found the philosophers' stone, that everything was shipshape

and all problems would be solved. Certainly not. We also know a thing or two about the imperfection of human ambition. We are also of the opinion that nothing in social life can be accomplished once and for all. Not to mention that the burdens imposed on us at present are very great and it is not certain whether we shall be in a position to uphold our achievements altogether in the midst of a process of development suddenly exposed to considerable disturbances.

What I wished to demonstrate is no more than the fact that the socialist system is able not only to hold its own under the pressure of very critical conditions but can also initiate and carry out a determined reform policy. I wanted to stress the nature of Hungarian efforts; whether the vigour of these efforts will be sufficient to master the given situation is a question which only the future can answer. The essential thing is that we do our utmost, to the best of our knowledge and conscience, and that we do it by working on comprehensive reforms.

I have referred to Hungary only as an example in the full conviction that reforms exist also in other socialist countries and are implemented with varying success, much is experienced there from which Hungary also can still learn a lot. I should like to point this out most emphatically, for I understand my thesis, which I intended to support by these explanations, not as being confined to Hungary, something that many commentators in the West would like to be true.

These, as I already mentioned, have concocted the most diverse theories to explain the Hungarian phenomenon, from the absurd allegation that official Hungary has been successful because the programme of the 1956 uprising has been carried out, up to devious interpretations such as that the Hungarian leadership, thanks to a sham solidarity in foreign affairs with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, had secured a free hand for its heretical reforms. Such decodings also include many explanations of the role played by János Kádár, which are misleading even though as a rule expounded with proper respect for his person. That Kádár's personal contribution has been very important is beyond question. Doubtless, owing to his fate, to the deeply felt nature of his political experience, to his sense of realities coupled with a consistency of principles, to his talent for strategy and tactics and, not least, his personal qualities, such as his considerable patience and steadfastness, his humanitarianism, his appreciation of everyday problems and questions of detail, he was particularly qualified to lead Hungary out of the chaos reigning there before and during 1956. His undisputed standing in the country and the world reflects his actual and great merits in the execution of the reform policy discussed here.

All this, however, was possible only because the socialist system was capable of such a fundamental revival in its innermost structure, because these changes immanent in the system could be implemented in the way the reform plans of Lenin and those of his successors active in the same spirit had earlier been introduced—both in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries. This aspect has been and still is by-passed again and again: some would like Kádár's performance to be isolated, as far as possible,

from the system he represents. This is true to an increased degree today, in fact the antithesis would say that socialism as such is not viable, that it is a blind alley, a page which ought to be torn out of history, etc.—as all these formulations go...

As far as the Hungarian development described above is concerned, it certainly has many features of its own which are to be derived only from the country's history, but as regards the role which reforms as a method play in socialist transitional society, these are general laws of social development. The concrete reforms naturally differ from one another; indeed, they must differ from one another, in accordance with the differing *donnés* of the country in which they are applied. But a readiness for changes—in other words a reform spirit—is making headway everywhere. And I am sure, it will also decisively contribute everywhere to surmounting accumulating difficulties.

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STATE AND CHURCH: INTERVIEW WITH IMRE MIKLOS

Budapest HUNGARIAN DIGEST in English No 4, 1983 pp 57-60

[Interview with Imre Miklos, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs; date, place not given]

[Text]

Q: How would you describe the present relationship between the State and the Churches in Hungary?

A: There is an understanding relationship, one that has, over the years become more solid and frank. The Churches are part of our national unity and strive to strengthen this unity according to their own ideology. Bishop József Cserhádi, secretary of the Hungarian Bench of Catholic Bishops, says in an article published in the journal *Új Ember* (New Man): "All signs seem to indicate that the Christian masses no longer consider normalization of the relationship between Church and State an issue at all. It is always important to take heed of shortcomings and grievances; however, these must be settled by the politics of everyday. Far more decisive is that believers turn towards the interests of society, that they shoulder the serious burdens of society, and that they should be united."

Therefore we both ascribe great significance to constructive cooperation and continued dialogue between State and Church. A good example is the groundwork that Protestant theologians and Marxist scholars of Protestantism laid down when they talked about finding ways of working together without either of them having to surrender their own views.

We regard this national unity as the greatest asset. We build our relations according to what is common to our intentions and aspirations. It is fortunate that common interest issues are far more in number than those that are not. Consequently, believers may take their part in building a socialist society without any crisis of conscience. The overwhelming majority of the religious masses are saying yes to socialism, but are also saying yes to their religious convictions for the time being.

Trust for each other has definitely strengthened, and those who look for conflict are becoming increasingly isolated. We have come to recognize that, apart from accepting socialism, and aiding its advancement while sharing its achievements, we think differently about certain fundamental issues such as, for example, God. I'm convinced that we can solve every problem via negotiation and patient discussion. At the same time, though, both parties must consider very carefully every development, so that the right principles may be employed properly in the new situation. Cooperation is, therefore, essential, and present Church policy in Hungary is based on this precept.

Q: What kind of problems, if any, do you encounter from day to day?

A: Those who fear that cooperation will undermine the future of socialism or of the Church are for the most part individuals whose convictions are not strong enough. Marxists as well as representatives of the various faiths must learn to respect each other's principles despite their ideological differences. Immediately after the liberation of Hungary in 1945 both sides foresaw a short-term future for the other side. We thought that the Churches and religious ideology would quickly disappear, that history would pass them by. At the same time the Churches likewise believed that socialism was only a temporary social system. But things turned out differently. Neither half was right. Today, it is not a question of having to choose between socialism and belief in God. It is a question of having to live and work together in the interest of everyone concerned.

Q: Are we to accept this as the status quo?

A: No. Our stand does not call for passive acceptance. Patience and understanding yes, but not the preservation of the status quo: Compromise is not synonymous with opportunism. The ideological debate continues for there is no question of "reconciling" Marxism and Christianity. The socialist state does not subject its ideology to negotiation with religious belief. Yet we cannot expect the Churches to abandon propagation of their religious principles. One thing is absolutely clear: neither side supports confrontations.

Q: Let me quote Cardinal László Lécai, President of the Hungarian Bench of Catholic Bishops at this point: "We strive to establish good relations with the State, to constantly improve the rapport in the interest of the Churches and the citizens of our country..."

A: Yes, this statement is quite correct. Yet accomplishing it is not very easy. The fact that there are religious masses in a socialist system represents a challenge for Marxists.

We have to convince these religious people about our own convictions. And we have to accept the fact that it will take a long time until we can convince all of them. The process will be a slow one, and one in which there is no room for impatience. Passions have had to subside and a sense of humanity has had to win the upper hand. Clearly, the task is not easy for either side. It has been a difficult and protracted process that has led to the consolidated situation of today.

Q: How many clergymen are there in Hungary and how many are ordained each year?

A: Today there are some five to six thousand clergymen in Hungary. In every community they have their traditional organizations, within which they spread their faith. The number of theologians in all Churches may be put at approximately six hundred; and twenty to twenty-five priests are ordained every year.

Q: A renewed interest in religion has developed, particularly among young people. Has this led to increased religious influence?

A: The renewed interest in religion and religious teachings is a worldwide phenomenon. Hungary is no exception. Growing tensions, the proliferating symptoms of crisis, always tend to flare up interest in the teachings of the various faiths,—which, however, does not mean a corresponding growth in religious feeling.

As for young people, I believe the youth of our country know less about the Church and religion than would be desirable. I should add that this is no fault of their own. Responsibility lies with the older generation. And we have an obligation to make up for all that we have failed to give to the younger generation. High school education ought to include the study of the Bible. Yet, this task would cause considerable difficulties for most teachers

today. Setting up special Bible study circles is one possible solution. Relieving the shortage of various reference works on religion could also serve the needs of general readers. Young people are curious and their thirst for knowledge must not be discouraged.

It is possible that in certain places religious influence has grown among young people. Personal failure, lack of success, pessimism may give rise to an interest in religion, which can then actually turn into religious conviction.

People in general and young people in particular feel the need to belong to some kind of community. Somewhere they can enjoy themselves, a place they can be themselves. This inner need should be satisfied by the Youth League, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the trade unions, the Patriotic People's Front, the council of women, the sports clubs or other organizations. As a rule, Church activists and preachers extend special effort to visit families in their homes in the evenings, on Saturdays and even on Sundays. They never turn away anyone seeking their help.

Working with people, establishing the necessary conditions for community life, and gaining people's trust are necessary if we are to win individuals for our views. The opportunities are there, we just have to grab them. Young people are willing to go wherever they can enjoy themselves, wherever someone listens to them. If there is contact and a good relationship based upon trust, it is easier to break the ground for ideological education.

Q: From time to time there have been tendencies that oppose the norms to which a socialist society aspires. How does this affect the relationship between the State and the Church?

A: Throughout history there have always been elements within the Established Church, who have opposed cooperation. Some people have launched irresponsible campaigns to create confusion in State and Church relations. For instance young men are encouraged to refuse to do military service. Every sober citizen of Hungary knows that the country needs an army of its own. Cardinal Lékai has also declared that believers must not refuse military service because it would leave the country without protection.

Everyone must obey the law in Hungary—whether he belongs to a Church or not. I should add, however, that no Church official is serving a sentence for political or anti-state activities. Church leaders in

Hungary have realized that political adventurism is incompatible with the real interests of the Churches.

Q: Regarding the future, what do you consider most important in the relationship between the State and the Churches?

A: I believe the most essential task is to further strengthen the already established national unity. The achievements of our church policy are acknowledged even by some of our opponents. Political alliance is not, however, a permanent formation in society. We must struggle for it day by day. The alliance must be renewed again and again, often under more difficult conditions and with the inclusion of new participants. We have to think in terms of the past, present and future simultaneously... As I have said, trust, responsibility and patience are indispensable. We hope that cooperation between believers and non-believers will continue to help build our society in order to create a better life and a happy and peaceful future for the Hungarian people.

ENGLISH STUDIES AT BUDAPEST UNIVERSITY OUTLINED

Budapest HUNGARIAN DIGEST in English No 4, 1983 pp 85-89

[Article by Judit Hazi]

[Text]

Daunting as it may seem to Western university students, Hungarian universities require undergraduates to major in two subjects and to present a thesis at the end of the five-year course that earns them a B.A. degree. Language departments conduct all teaching in the given foreign language, eliminating the mother-tongue as far as possible. Investigating English and American language and literature from their origins up to the present is only one aspect of the department's profiles. The main function is to train students, who, for the most part, aspire to be high-school teachers. Under a teaching staff of 30, the department has more than 500 undergraduates, with the fair sex accounting for the vast majority.

With teacher training as the principal objective, English majors are required to concentrate on methodology and didactics from the third year. After attending theoretical classes on teaching methods for a term and visiting English classes in high-schools, the students spend a term for each of their major subjects in a school, observing a good number of classes and student teaching for 15 periods themselves under the supervision of a master teacher.

Although teacher training is the most essential aspect of university education, finding a place in a high-school in Budapest or other big

cities is becoming extremely difficult. Due to a shortage of jobs and vacancies in urban high-schools, many graduates go into public administration, and publishing, become librarians and translators, or do freelance work. Others take on jobs in foreign trading companies or travel agencies. Some efforts have been made recently to separate university education and teacher training, but the present structure of education in Hungary does not as yet make allowance for this radical step. Many students are put off teaching careers by low pay prospects, a global phenomenon to which the Hungarian educational system is no exception. Similar to many countries around the world, the teaching profession in Hungary has gradually become a line of work predominantly for women, since the relative flexibility of working hours helps them cope with the household and family chores.

In an effort to keep up with the changing needs and interests of students and to introduce a fairer system of examinations, the English Department has recently initiated a reform that has paved the way for some vital changes in the life of the department. Professor Péter Egri, Head of Department, explained the essence of the reform he and his colleagues pioneered.

"The fundamental aim of the

reform is twofold: on the one hand to brush up the students' knowledge of English and to give them a structure of subjects that is firm enough to enable them to learn more literature, linguistics, history, and to give them a wider scope of British and American culture."

Q: Would you say something about the structural build-up of the five-year course?

A: In the first year our chief aim is to bridge the gap between high-school English and university English. The curriculum covers literature, descriptive grammar and introduction to linguistic theory. An important exam rounds up the first year, one that comprises the material of the first two semesters. Should a student fail, he goes right back to the first year again. This is an important innovation over the earlier practice when students' fates were decided at the entrance examination. This decision can now be made more responsibly on the experience of a year's work. In the second and third year the students deal with the history of English literature from the beginnings up to the 20th century, descriptive grammar, the history of the English language from Old English to Modern English, history and civilization. The third year ends with a written and oral exam. From here onwards language studies may continue, but literature, linguistics and history gain more prominence. The fourth year is the time of specialization. It is where the reform really comes into its own, offering the students a greater choice to spend their twelve periods per week meaningfully. Compulsory subjects such as English literature in the interwar years, American literature up to and after World War I, methodology are complemented by subjects of the students' own choice. This allows them to spend as many as eight periods per week with their chosen subject. The fifth year continues to offer the same chances for specialization.

Q: So the fundamental principle of the reform is to give the students a greater freedom of choice and a wider scope for specialization?

A: Exactly. The cardinal aim underlying the reform is to encourage students to develop their own ideas rather than simply to take over ours. This point is also illustrated by the choice of theses which is extensive and varied but by no means exclusive. Personal initiatives are welcome in any field of instruction.

The reform enables students to choose from a variety of subjects ranging from lectures and seminars on "British Music, Painting and Literature" through "Anatomy of Criticism" to "American English and its sociolects: slang, black English".

For a view of the linguistic aspect of the department's work we turned to Professor Sándor Rot, author of such indispensable works as *Old English*, *Problems of Modern British and American Slang*, *The Origins and Originality of Australian English* and others.

S. R.: In the department we teach both the synchronic and diachronic approach to English, I myself specialize in the diachronic approach, but this by no means prevents me from devoting much of my time and energies to the study of sociolects, slang, especially, black English and Australian English. The study of the macrosystem of English, its national varieties, the stylistics of decoding which combines language and literature allow me to complement my teaching work with extremely exciting research and to publish in fields which have not yet been investigated thoroughly in Hungary.

Q: What kind of research does the department carry out?

A: There are four research groups working in the department, two of which deal with linguistics. One probes into the contrastive studies of English and the other examines the main trends and peculiarities of the

development of English, following a historical approach.

Q: Is linguistics popular among your students?

A: I'm proud to say that linguistics enjoys great popularity. It is one of the most often studied subjects of theses at the moment. During the last five years 26 people received Ph.D.s on problems of the English language, which is no mean achievement.

According to students at the English Department, (unlike in many other departments) there is an atmosphere of friendship between students and teachers. One thing they do lament, however, is that required books are not available in sufficient numbers (despite the positively advantageous fact that university students can buy foreign language books at half price). Another problem is having to major in two subjects; although it gives the students better prospects for the future, it also restricts their time for real specialization. While their knowledge of English is admittedly below the level of native speakers, their grasp of culture is adequate even in an international comparison, especially where comparative culture is concerned, due precisely to majoring in two subjects and a sound high-school education.

Beyond all the scholarly aspects outlined above there is one thing that both professors and students seem to take very seriously: the international reputation of the department. Says Professor Rot: "In 1980 we organized two international conferences where scholars from East and West met. Afterwards we had letters flooding in from West Germany, Britain, the Soviet Union as well as the United States voicing their praise for the advances in scientific and academic cooperation despite the cold winds that are blowing in the political arena."

In addition to participating in and organizing international conferences, the department sets great store by any direct contact with other departments of English and American studies in universities abroad.

Beyond a successful exchange program with Britain's Exeter University, the department is proud of its fruitful contacts with universities in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and the United States. There is a keen interest in extending these international contacts from which many scholars of English and American studies could, no doubt, benefit.

Just such a possibility presented itself when the Hungarian-born American philanthropist and sponsor of many cultural and educational ventures, Nicholas M. Salgo proposed to endow a professional chair at Budapest University for a visiting professor in American Literature and Culture. Mr. Salgo, himself a graduate of Budapest University, visited Hungary in October 1982 to open an exhibition called "The American Theater Today", on which occasion he made a number of generous proposals in the field of culture and education.

One of Mr. Salgo's proposals is the above-mentioned university chair with the purpose of promoting the study, understanding and dissemination of American literature and culture. According to the donor's wishes the Chair is to be named in honor of his father, Dr. Ottó Salgo (1885—1964), an alumnus of Budapest University, a prominent lawyer. The endowment is to be made through the Salgo-Noren Foundation, founded in 1959, which would assume financial responsibility for the visiting professor's expenses. The chair is scheduled to be occupied in the 1983/84 academic year, though the person of the American professor is yet to be disclosed. According to the agreement signed on June 20, 1983 in Budapest, the proposed Chairholder will be selected by the highest academic authorities and will be subject to the Rector's approval at Budapest University. The Chair is to be held by an individual for a minimum of one year and a maximum of three years. The endowment has been agreed for an initial period of ten years with a view toward a permanent agreement.

POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION VICE PRESIDENT INTERVIEWED

Budapest HUNGARIAN DIGEST in English No 4, 1983 pp 83-84

[Text]

The prime assignment of the newly formed Political Science Association was defined as follows at its founding meeting last year: "A debate forum to help the country's political decision-making bodies".

A comprehensive function was assigned the Association when distinguished representatives—economists, sociologists, philosophers, historians, legal experts, educationalists were asked to take part in its leadership. The Association's president is János Péter, Deputy Speaker of Hungarian Parliament, while Dr. József Halász, Deputy Director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Institute for Political and Legal Sciences, holds the post of vice-president. In a conversation, Professor Halász confirmed that the new association was rooted in quite a remarkable home tradition that had noted 19th century Hungarian novelists and thinkers among its founders.

"When in 1949 the International Political Science Association was formed, Hungary showed considerable interest and although no Hungarian political science association existed at the time, the first 1952 congress was attended by a Hungarian delegation led by the late philosopher Béla Fogarassy.

It was the 60s that marked the unfolding of several branches of social science—considered to be interdisciplinary or synthesizing

ones—in Hungary. Yet, institutionalization was delayed, partly because of local debates on the issue. Only the late 70s proved its indisputable necessity.

Pál Herskovits: What demand does Hungarian political science meet in theory and in practice?

Prof. Halász: I would like to reiterate that the unfolding of Hungarian political science was dictated by social necessity. An example: the complex problem of international politics is not only an issue of general politics but also that of international law and economics. In order to obtain a coherent idea about these problems, we have to "confront" the views of those experts who are open to all these issues regardless of the field of science in which they are engaged.

Q: Political scientists can obviously provide lots of information to help the work of decision-making bodies.

A: All the more so, since political science is interdisciplinary, that is to say, it is open to social scientific results and conclusions. Consequently, they can provide help in comprehending the multiplicity of certain issues, in preparing political decisions as well as developing the political culture of society.

Q: Do Hungary's policy-making bodies, personalities depend on politicalology? Are there already any ma-

nifestations to this effect?

A: Undoubtedly, they count on us. But we have to be self-critical as to our own role. It is not politology that shapes politics! There are appropriate, decision-making forums for that. However, politology's contribution to these decisions can be very significant. Hungary's decision-making bodies do expect our contributions. Examples: they ask our views as to the development of the system of state institutions, the further development of the election system etc.

Q: What was the international response to the Hungarian association?

A: As I already alluded, Hungarian experts—within the frame of the Hungarian Society for State Sciences (Staatslehre)—took part in earlier international events. But we enjoyed considerable success this year at the Rio conference of the international association. Publications of the new Hungarian association were "sold out" overnight and they expect more information and contacts from us.

Q: Would you tell us something about the plans of the society for 1983?

A: The five departments hold debate forums, discussions, etc. on themes like "the significance of the Helsinki Act and its impact today." We are devoting a special session to the centenary of Karl Marx's death. We feel we fulfill a long-standing debt by holding a scientific session on Hungarian political thinking in the 20th century. And the subject of special interest is the debate entitled "The Topicality of Simon Bolivar's Ideas" to be held on the bicentenary of the birth of the great South American independence leader.

IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING DEEMED CRUCIAL FOR PZPR MEMBERS

AU220839 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Sep 83 p 1

[Jan Ruszczyc commentary: "The Ideological Weapon"]

[Excerpts] A new year of ideological training is commencing within the whole party. For the tens of thousands of party organizations, cells, and the institutions which they control and which are responsible for training activities among activists and party members alike, this signifies the need for a particular concentration of attention on the fact that the proper implementation of the important training goals is ensured.

Why is ideological training so particularly important in the party today, and why is it necessary for everyone who not only wants to feel like a communist, but wants to be a communist in the fullest sense of the word?

The range of tasks with which the party is progressing is a deciding factor in this issue, as is the struggle for the future fate of our country, for the patriotic and socialist attitudes of Poles, the awakening of their constructive activism, which is essential to resolve the complex tasks we are now faced with. Another deciding factor is the tension behind the ideological and the political battle in which the opponents of socialism are trying in every possible way, including the use of attacks on the theoretical, world outlook, and the moral principles which the party uses as guidelines, to confuse people's views, twist their attitudes, set people at odds with one another, and weaken social commitment in the party.

The party member consequently finds himself playing the role of one who must express and defend the ideas and the whole party's aspirations in everyday situations, a role which has been thrust upon him by the difficult reality of the present time. He cannot cope with this task without possessing an adequate knowledge which is more extensive than a knowledge which is limited to everyday matters, although this is also necessary.

Party training promotes a familiarization with the theoretical ideas of Marxism and Leninism, as well as a better knowledge of the party's ideological, programmatic, and statutory principles. It does, therefore, help to have a better knowledge of events and the processes which are taking place, to perceive the mutual ties between these events and processes, and to understand

the political and social reality in the country and the world, especially since all this is the basis for rational and useful activities.

The broadest and the most important field for training activities is provided by primary party organizations, and it is above all in these that the proper pace and quality of party training is ensured. Meanwhile, it is precisely within these party cells which are in no small way involved with the everyday affairs of the work force and its communities, that there is still a lot to signify that this training is underestimated and dealt with in terms which are too official. There is, at the same time, no shortage of various misunderstandings.

One hears, for instance, complaints that the training given is too monotonous and unappealing, and people grumbling about incompetent lecturers and apathetic participants. But we do, after all, have no lack of experience to prove that the time that has been designated for training could be exceptionally productive.

It is, therefore, worth asking why we should not improve the standard of our training activities in certain party organizations. Especially since we are also looking for the answer to this within our own circles. We sometimes complain about our lecturers, although there are many interesting, thinking people in our own organizations who could be in charge of this training. One hears people say that there is a lack of teaching material when they simply do not know how or do not want to find the right ones, or, what is worse, throw the ones they have into the corner without reading them. To tell the truth, the interest shown in party work in some party organizations leaves much to be desired.

The beginning of the new ideological training year should therefore be an occasion for not only finding interesting ways in which to go about this training in all the party cells, but it should also be an occasion to increase the discipline which is essential for their implementation.

Familiarizing people with and popularizing knowledge about Marxism and Leninism, as well as about the party's program and policies is, after all, one of the important statutory requirements which is the duty of every PZPR member, and one which determines the significance of party training and should also determine our attitude toward it.

CSO: 2600/16

DAILY COMMENTS ON PZPR PLANT SECRETARIES MEETING

AU251714 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish-21 Sep 83 p 1

[Andrzej Leszczynski commentary: "In the Feeling of the Workers"]

[Text] The latest meeting of PZPR plant committee secretaries from large enterprises took place on Monday [19 September]. We dealt with this extensively in our reports. This is already a traditional form of meeting of the party leadership and the government with representatives of the workers class from the manufacturing industry.

It is one of the many forums for a mutual exchange of opinions and views as well as for party consultation over planned decisions on important social and economic issues, and these meetings are usually based on specific topics, the latest being no exception. It stressed the state of and the conditions for the development of trade unions and workers' self-management bodies. To use Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski's words of summation, we are concerned with the social development of enterprises, with arousing social forces, and with securing their more energetic cooperation in plant management as well as in the defense of workers' interests.

The party way of looking at things has brought no small progress, for a 3.3-million strong throng of trade union members is a fair-sized army, and an army which mainly comprises workers. Thousands of people are getting involved in the work of workers' self-management bodies. However, the progress of both the trade union and the self-management movement toward maturity is not uniform throughout the country. Nor is it free of checks or setbacks, but is taking place under the conditions of a political struggle, something which was documented by the many examples given during the discussion.

Party organizations at plants should energetically support the emerging trade union and self-managing movement in this struggle. They should support them in their fight and prevent attempts by the political opposition to manipulate these institutions of workers' democracy. This is connected with the need to increase the participation of party members in the trade union movement. During the discussion, much emphasis was put on the idea that the presence of party members within the trade unions in no way inhibits the independence of the cells of the trade union movement.

In its desire to arm the workers class with trade union representation of its interests, the party should not allow its members to be left on the sidelines of the trade union movement. The party's involvement in the development of self-management bodies is, then, a result of the fact that this idea is inherent in the traditions of the Polish workers' movement. This is also why this idea became one of the conceptual cornerstones of the economic reform.

One of the valuable ideas voiced at the discussion is that the party should be ready to resolve any possible conflicts which could arise between trade unions, which are designed to protect the interests of the workers, and the self-management bodies, which represent the interests of the enterprises.

The dominant theme was the so-called social development of enterprises, but this was not presented as an abstraction of the daily routine, nor were the issues and the problems which life brings with it. The discussion reflected the cares, worries, and hopes of the workers class. The speeches by worker party activists expressed, for instance, fears for the protection of their living standards and conditions.

They came with an assortment of expectations which were at times rather incredible, and presumptions even about things like higher prices. They took with them a clear and unanimous declaration made by the competent representatives of the authorities which was essential to the proper easing of people's minds.

The way that the workers class assesses the functioning of the economic reform mechanisms is also important. But the reports on the economic situation made during the meeting testify to the positive effect of the new management mechanisms on the state of the economy. It is true that these effects are still insufficiently felt, but the direction in which the changes on the economic barometer are pointing is, after all, toward a brighter period.

This was, after all, what the party representatives of the big enterprises were saying. Although they started with tales of their struggles to get raw and other materials, to repair severed ties of cooperation, and to find people to work for them, they could, nevertheless, conclude with pride that despite this, they did not let the country down or impoverish the economy. Here they gave figures and pointers to document their progress in production.

But even in the light of these honestly performed duties one could discern an element of bitterness and a feeling of injustice. Examples were given of the fortunes that had been amassed through speculation, and of easy incomes being made for private means. Manfred Gorywoda, PZPR Central Committee secretary, presented the scale of the development of the private sector by citing hard figures, and, in the light of these, proved that people's assumptions that the economy is being progressively reprivatized are unwarranted.

However, irrespective of this, we cannot reconcile ourselves with scheming, fraud, and with those who make easy millions with no effort. It is something which angers and offends our workers' sense of justice.

It was said at the meeting, in no uncertain terms, that the workers class does not want to tolerate these practices. It was also decided that the workers will not listen to incitement to slow down production or to work at a snail's pace. These are the feelings of the workers, their opinions and their decisions.

CSO: 2600/17

POLAND

PRIEST PRAISES RESUMED BROADCAST OF SUNDAY MASS

LD181019 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0655 GMT 18 Sep 83

[From the pastoral announcements at Holy Mass, celebrated by Father Stefan Guiazdowski, at the Holy Cross Church in Warsaw--live]

[Text] This week the Church observes international mass media week. The Catholic Church follows the development of the mass media with great concern. It always calls the attention of those who manage radio, television, cinema and publishing houses to their responsibility for the substance and moral values which are being transmitted to society. It appeals to the public to select carefully and make mature use of the programs which are being offered. It asks parents and teachers to teach conscious reception and thoughtful evaluation of values presented.

This Sunday has particular significance for all faithful in our country. It was on a Sunday of mass media [as heard] that as a result of the signing of memorable social agreements transmission of the holy mass from the Holy Cross Church in Warsaw was resumed. We constantly praise God for this benefit, and we remember those people whose suffering and courage were decisive in this. We express our gratitude to all who have been cooperating with us for the last 3 years--priests, choirs, radio staff, our correspondents. We ask listeners to pray so that we can continue to serve Christ's gospel without worry.

CSO: 2600/10

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Party Indoctrination, Ideological-Political Work

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 4 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Leslaw Gnot: "Far Away From a University"]

[Text] After publishing an article on party indoctrination in the Lublin party organization, we received from the outskirts of our region a significant response: "You continuously praise Lublin's achievements in ideological-political work, but after all it is much easier there, with universities, large enterprises, and a large number of experienced activists. Why don't you sometimes show what it is like somewhere else... Far away from a university and other centers; where rural organizations are prevalent, where a school teacher or gmina activist, burdened by many duties, is the only organizer of this work, its lecturer and instructor simultaneously."

We accepted the challenge. We have organized a discussion on the subject of party indoctrination and ideological-political work in Biala Podlaska Province. Participants in the discussion were: Boleslaw Slosarski, director of WOKI [Provincial Center for Ideological Indoctrination], Romuald Jarocki, the PZPR Provincial Committee lecturer and instructor, Jan Gontarz, secretary of the party organization at BIAWENA Wool Industry Plants [ZPW], and Leon Rumowski, director of the ROPP [Regional Center for Party Work] in Biala Podlaska. SZTANDAR LUDU was represented by Leslaw Gnot.

L. Gnot: Not long ago the Provincial Committee's executive evaluated party indoctrination in Biala Podlaska Province. I had an opportunity to acquaint myself with these materials. They indicate that in the training year 1982-83 your organization was able to overcome the impass prevailing since 1980. This is true also of other provinces and one can talk here about a certain rule. But there is another thing that attracts one's attention: the Provincial Audit Commission, while investigating party indoctrination in 124 party organizations, ascertained that 78 percent of the POPs carried out party indoctrination systematically, 10 percent had meetings irregularly, and in

12 percent of the organizations no indoctrination was taking place. These are very good indices. Further on it states: "The sounding of opinion among participants of party indoctrination classes, carried out by the investigators, confirmed the positive evaluation of the forms and methods of instruction."

Do you agree with the positive evaluation of the Provincial Audit Commission? How do you achieve such good results despite the small size of the teaching cadre?

B. Slosarski: Do we agree with the positive evaluation? The Audit Commission certainly was not bent on compliments. What is more important, our data depicting the indoctrination status in the whole of our organization are similar to those which were presented by the random investigation of the commission carried out in 124 POPs. We can therefore draw some satisfaction from the results of party indoctrination in the year 1982-83. On the other hand, these dozen or so percent of organizations can be equally well termed "only" and "as many as." Our goal is to provide systematic indoctrination in all organizations. Without such political preparation, party organizations appear helpless. Moreover, we are aware of serious weaknesses in our system of indoctrination. You have asked how we do it? I will answer frankly... With the greatest effort by a dedicated aktiv, a party apparatus modest in size, and by burdening people with heavy tasks. In the same manner we try to utilize people from the outside. When a good lecturer arrives, we organize in the gmina--in organizations geographically close--several meetings which the person services one after another. Sometimes we manage to group several POPs together. We utilize the party apparatus to the maximum. By the decision of the Provincial Committee's Executive, each functionary is obliged to participate in four meetings a month, beside statutory duties. At these meetings, the functionary is often a lecturer on a given subject.

Our so-called ideological aktiv is indeed not numerous, although it is very involved and dedicated. If you only knew how many indoctrinational and other meetings have been addressed by comrade Jarocki, here and how he is valued by party organizations for his knowledge and experience as a pedagogue! He is not an exception, however, there are more such people. While trying, however, not to lose any of the comrades' great generosity and involvement, in the future we would like to base indoctrinational work on an expanded cadre of instructors in the area, and leave the preparation of the cadres in the subject matter and methodology to the leading aktiv in the province and to our guests--the Central Committee lecturers. Indeed, the suggestions of the Provincial Committee's Executive oblige us to adopt this course.

L. Gont: The suggestions seem to be very appropriate, but how should they be implemented?

B. Slosarski: The organizational base of their implementation consists in the strengthening of the cadre responsible for it. Until not long ago, we had two functionaries in the WOKI responsible for the topics; now we have a four-person team, which can achieve much more. The experience shows that regions of party work play a basic role in indoctrination. The structure foresees deputies to the ROPP directors assuming responsibility for indoctrinational work. Where we

have no back up for this function by an appropriate person, as for example in Losice, the indoctrinational picture looks worse than elsewhere. The second thing is the recruitment of lecturers. I think that together with the ROPP and the gmina committees, we must be more daring in reaching out for new people. It is true that we are far away from Warsaw or Lublin and do not have a university--although some comrades from our Academy of Physical Education are gallantly helping out. Nevertheless in each gmina we have a large group of people with college education. Among them are employees of various institutions, teachers and, more and more frequently, farmers. Reaching them and encouraging them to do indoctrinational work is certainly a difficult, but nevertheless a necessary, task.

These people will have less preparation and often will lack experience. They must therefore be given care and appropriate preparation.

L. Gont: It seems that you have reached the right conclusions. And now perhaps we can hear about experiences and impressions from the front line--from a lecturer and POP secretary?

R. Jarocki: Many impressions and conclusions result from my experiences as lecturer and instructor. But two of them perhaps merit particular emphasis. One concerns the form of work. It seems to me that nowadays a classical lecture, even a most interesting one, absolutely does not suffice. In times when television and radio popularize the appearances of leading statesmen, politicians, scientists and activists, it is very difficult for a modest lecturer acting in the provinces, to match them in style, erudition and knowledge of the subject. Direct contact remains the only trump card. This trump card must therefore be used, especially now, when people are full of doubts, hesitation and unable to understand some issues. A dialogue and a discussion, therefore, are the most effective form of action here.

I will cite the following example: we were carrying out an all-province indoctrination of party candidates. At each of the meetings a Provincial Committee secretary and a lecturer with a concrete topic were present. Once the participants of such a meeting pressed the Provincial Committee secretary, comrade Nowak, with various, often quite difficult, questions for an hour and a half. Afterwards I talked about the status in the party. In answer to the question regarding democracy in the party, I answered not only by quoting our party constitution, but I was also able to use a weighty argument... Democracy in the party means also that you are talking with a Provincial Committee secretary without holding anything back, in an atmosphere of partnership and frankness; you are criticizing our echelons and no one feels insulted and holds it against you; on the contrary, things are explained patiently, your remarks and critical opinions accepted... I saw that the participants of the meetings left convinced and content. My second remark regards the question of appreciating the role of indoctrination. Attempts are sometimes made to present the opinion that apathy continues to be dominant in the party and every activity, including indoctrination, is treated as thankless drudgery. This is not true. Where the sessions are well organized, where the lecturers are well prepared, an atmosphere of considerable involvement prevails. In Malaszewicze a course for the workers youth aktiv was organized. People arrived from far-

away localities, yet the attendance was good. At the end, the course participants organized a formal conclusion, inviting to it the organizers and lecturers.

J. Gontarz: Once, despite the apparent strength of the party, indoctrination was scorned upon. Particularly in our enterprise, where women are in majority, it was difficult to assure good indoctrination. Nevertheless I am happy to say that we did not halt this work even in the most difficult period. The present system of ideological meetings is very suitable to our needs. We are able to utilize our own cadres--our comrades are lecturers at the Provincial and City Committees--but we also are happy to see other lecturers of the Provincial Committee or from the Central Committee. Our opinion is that indoctrination ought to be based on our own cadres--not only in order to take the burden off others, but also because people connected with a workplace and community know better the interests of the community and are better able to support the general subject by their own experiences, familiar to the employees of the workplace. This however does not mean that we do not need new faces and new views regarding the issues. We have passed the subject proposals received from the Provincial Committee to basic organizations for elaboration. They will establish the program at open meetings. We are leaving them considerable leeway, agreeing even to certain deviations from the plan.

L. Rumowski: I wish to support the comrades' opinion that ideological meetings are a good form of indoctrinational work, as far as the formula for basic training is concerned. But it would not suffice if we limited our activity to them. I am not talking about the WUML [Evening Courses of Marxism-Leninism] or higher forms--this is a separate subject; but about various kinds of community and trade training, in which our presence is certainly indispensable. There is teacher training--comrade Burzynski, the Provincial Committee secretary, attended such training in Janow; there is village administrator training, meetings of circles of farm women, and others. We ought to participate in all of them, to present our party's policy, talk with people and persuade them about our cause.

I have two suggestions on organization. In gmina committees we have no indoctrination centers. Nevertheless, coordinators of indoctrination activity are needed. They can be recruited from top flight lecturers or members of ideological commissions, people who are familiar with this activity.

The second problem is the preparation of lecturers. In Parczewo there was an attempt to encourage some people to specialize in various subjects and exchange lecturers among various organizations. In this way the principle of having their own specialized lecturers was met. We want to try out this experiment in Biala Podlaska, which is the largest province, containing 256 POPs. And finally, some remarks on the contents of the indoctrination. The topics proposed for next year correspond to the needs and interests of the masses of party members. The treatment of the topics must however be differentiated accordingly to the level.

L. Gnot: I see that we could continue our conversation on this subject for a long time. We must however consider that the space in our publication and the attention of our readers have limits.

I suggest adding one more remark to wrap things up.

B. Slosarski: We are preparing our own written lectures for various topics, but we would be interested in exchanging materials with other centers. Anyway, there are never enough materials.

R. Jarocki: Party echelons value our indoctrinational training; it would help if economists, administrators and other activists would follow suit.

J. Gontarz: Training ought to facilitate the understanding and implementation of the principles of the economic reform.

L. Rumowski: It seems to me that there is demand for objective yet convincing presentation of the achievements of the 40 years of People's Poland.

L. Gontarz: I think that we have had an interesting exchange of opinions and experiences. This will certainly be useful in continuing the preparations for the new year of party training.

Plenary Session on Party Increase

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 4 Aug 83 p 1

[Text] Yesterday a plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee took place in Piotrkow Trybunalski on the subject, "Key problems of provincial party organization in strengthening the unity and cohesiveness of party ranks." The session was led by Provincial Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Kolasa. Besides the Provincial Committee plenum members, among the participants were the delegates to the Ninth Party Congress and to the Fourth Provincial Conference, Central Committee members and deputy members from the area of the province, members of the Provincial Party Control Commission, the Provincial Audit Commission, and a group of ten party candidates (which is to become a custom in the future).

The session was attended by deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Organizational Section, Ryszard Czerwinski, director of the Provincial People's Council in Piotrkow Trybunalski, Tadeusz Nowakowski, deputy governor Franciszek Jaciubek, and provincial commander of the People's Militia [MO], Zdzislaw Wewer. On behalf of the Executive Board, a report introducing a discussion as read by the Provincial Committee secretary Mieczyslaw Szulc, who presented an analysis of intraparty work, the numerical status, social structure, and main processes taking place in the provincial party organization. The report

emphasized the need for the further strengthening of the worker-peasant character of the organization and improvement in ideological indoctrination and the party's inspirational role in trade unions, workers self-government, the PRON and youth and mass organizations, as well as the need for developing a dialogue with the whole of society in order to rebuild the party's authority and its leading role.

In his pronouncement during the deliberations, R. Czerwinski, deputy director of the Organizational Section of the Central Committee, emphasized the unconventional form of the Provincial Committee's work (yesterday's plenary deliberations constituted the first part of the session, the second part will take place in October of this year, following broad consultations in organizations and party echelons). The speaker pointed out the major directions of the ideological-political work in the period following martial law. The PZPR adopted the course of social accord and conciliation, but at the same time a course of struggle against the enemies of the constitutional system. In conclusion the body adopted the "Provincial Committees Resolutions," defining the activity of the provincial organization within the framework of the second part of the Provincial Committee Plenum.

Party Interests in Plant, Workers

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 9 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by (bur): "In Party Organizations"]

[Text] "We Are Interested in All Problems of the Workplace and Employees"

When Krystyna Owsianikow was taking over the position of the first secretary of the POP in the City Supplies and Market Sales Cooperative in Golub Dobrzyn, the organization had difficulties in pulling itself together. Many comrades forgot their statutory duties, others were turning in their membership cards. Therefore, together with the new executive board of the POP, she began her term by having individual conversations with all members of the organization. The comrades had to make a choice: either they leave the party, or participate more actively in its life. "Sixty-four comrades remained in our POP," says K. Owsianikow. Since then we have admitted two candidates: Jan Adamczewski and Jan Kowalski. Despite three workshifts, we do not now have special problems with statutory meetings, the comrades' involvement in the life of our POP has increased, we are undertaking more tasks which require not just verbal declarations, but concrete actions."

The POP began to analyze, above all, those problems which bothered the cooperative's workcrew and customers. For example, following the suggestions made at the POP meetings, a second shift was started in the soft drink plant, increasing production by 16,000 bottles of beverages. Thanks to this, the supplies of soft drinks in the towns and gminas of Golub and Radomin have been better this summer. On free Saturdays the workers of the cooperative, on the initiative of the POP, cut wood for fuel in the butcher shop. The POP came to the conclusion that the cooperative can afford to maintain continuous production of seven kinds of bread and four kinds of chala, as well as four brands of cured meats. The implementation of these proposals has been

successful. The construction of garages for the cooperative's vehicles has been realized to a large degree by social action which will considerably diminish the cost of the 3 and a half million zlotys in investment. As the store facilities are being renovated, the POP takes care that the social conditions of the sales personnel improve.

The realization of such initiatives brings not only concrete advantages to the cooperative and its customers, but also furthers the integration of the party organization and increases its authority among the employees. Also the fact that the POP at its meetings, including the open ones, evaluates the attitudes of the comrades who perform managerial functions in the cooperative and the way they realize production tasks and care about the problems of their subordinates, has been received with appreciation. The enterprise's POP is finding increasingly more active partners in the trade organization, to which already one fourth of the cooperative's employees belong, and in the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] circle, which already has 30 members and is quite active. The POP also makes sure that its members actively participate in the town's social life. Such comrades as Jozef Kowalski, Jan Piorkowski, Zenobia Jasinska, Teresa Werner, Kazimierz Michcik, Jozef Pekowski, Grazyna Kaszuba and Jerzy Lebowski, actively participate in the works of the commissions in the City Government, People's Council, the PZPR City Committee and the ZSMP City Committee.

"Everybody Knows His Duties"

Mieczyslaw Maciejewski, the POP first secretary in the Rypin Shipbuilding Plant believes that frequent personnel changes in the position he presently occupies are disadvantageous to the organization's work. He has experienced it himself, because he is already the third first secretary of this POP, even though the 2 and 1/2 year term of this echelon's authorities has not come to its completion yet. Initially, the position of the POP first secretary was occupied by Krystyna Witkowska, who however had to resign because the employees elected her to the workers' council of the RZO [Rypin Shipbuilding Plant]. Afterwards, the position of first secretary was turned over to Andrzej Korzeniowski, who within a short period moved on to work in the Rypin House of Culture. Comrade M. Maciejewski, a very young man, has been working as the POP secretary for the last nine months. "Actually," says M. Maciejewski, "I became the POP secretary in the period when its activity and people's moods had already settled down somewhat. Nevertheless, getting into the rhythm of normal work has taken time. Particularly since the enterprise has plants not only in Rypin but also in Brodnica and Cetki, and there are party groups there as well. Besides, I continue to function as director of the ZSMP circle. At least," he laughs, "we are having no problems with the party organization cooperating with the youth organization!"

The POP headed by comrade M. Maciejewski numbers 75 comrades. The period prior to December [1981] did not particularly cause it to lose strength, although the signal to turn in party membership cards was given by those on whom the party had bestowed the greatest trust: members of the city party authorities--the committee and the party auditing commission. It can therefore be estimated that from the list of the POP members "only" seven persons needed to be crossed out.

Today the POP devotes its attention mainly to the problems of good management and economizing in the enterprise. In this it sees a possibility for instilling in the whole workcrew respect for work in this enterprise and care for the results of shared management. The first half of the year convinced everyone that a lot of effort was needed to maintain production at the planned level. Only orders from the Warsaw and Wloclawek Ursus factories permitted the realization of the production plan. And no one wanted particularly to leave the Rypin Shipbuilding Works because of smaller supplies, as the wages here are not bad.

The POP openly supports the actions of the ZSMP circle, the trade unions, and workers self-government. No one in the enterprise particularly emphasizes the distinction between party and nonparty. The decision whether to join the trade union also is made independently of whether party members, or the nonparty prevail in it. Among the 45 members of the ZSMP circle, there are as many as 15 comrades. This is a high number, and that is good. The circle very actively looks after social issues of the young. Among other things, it signed together with the State Agricultural Bank (PBRol) a contract for the construction of a patronage apartment building. Young people work on the construction "after hours" and during their vacations. Thanks to this, four of them will receive keys to their own apartments more quickly. Trade unions already number nearly 200 out of the 300 employees of the enterprise. The workcrew elected as many as nine party members to the workers' council (the council numbers 15 persons). This proves that the POP and its members enjoy authority among the employees and that their opinion is valued in the enterprise.

Party Development, Crisis Relationship

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 9 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Glebocki: "There Is no Crisis of Will..."]

[Text] In this gmina, probably most beautiful in Kielce Province, I heard the opinion that among its residents there was no crisis of will. This was in Bodzentyn. The Kielce region is among the most picturesque regions of Poland. There are many charming parts where one feels the joy of living and is overtaken by wonder. Some people may be miffed by my singling out Bodzentyn, nevertheless it really is wondrous, as thousands of tourists confirm. To the natural beauty of hills and woods, sheep meadows and farm fields not infrequently plowed by boars, the charm of well cared-for peasant households, dating from the postwar period, has been added.

The soil here is of medium quality, mostly third and fourth class. The farms are small: the majority under 2 hectares. There are only 15 large (for Kielce Province) farms, those over 10 hectares. Thus, at dawn someone leaves nearly every house to commute to a job in town: Kielce, Skarzysko, Starachowice or

Bodzentyń. They say that three quarters of all the gmina's adults (out of 11,600 people) have jobs outside of agriculture.

People are industrious here. They build roads, schools, apartments for village teachers, and health centers. One is easily convinced that there is no shortage of will and no crisis of will. Yet, when I arrived at the announced meeting of the regional party organization in Bodzentyń, only 5 of the 15 members came, including the gmina director, a very energetic man. In Bodzentyń itself the residents' industriousness is evident: houses are well taken care of, streets are clean, although landslides over old underground tunnels complicate the work of water ducts and sewers. It is true that the state has given millions of zlotys to secure these underground passages, nevertheless the residents' efforts are visible here.

At the party meeting attendance was poor, although the meeting had been announced by the provincial commission on intraparty affairs. This was not an isolated or exceptional case. In other basic party organizations (there are 30 of them in the gmina), the attendance was poor too. The secretary of the Gmina Committee is energetic and sprightly, the executive board members are good, the ZSMP director is so full of good will that she is boiling over with initiatives. A permanent guardian from the Provincial Committee visits often. To sum it up, everything is as it should be, yet party work is sluggish. I think of the kind of work which can be measured by the number of meetings, the attendance and the collecting of dues. For there is another side of this activity, less tangible, yet visible; there is good farming and factory work, generating considerable production.

Together with the whole commission I went to a discussion with the Gmina Committee members. Here an explanation is necessary. I heard an acerbic remark that everybody likes to control and there is no one to do the work. I want to explain that our commission for intraparty affairs' inspections, either by a single member or by a larger group, are not intended as control or giving of lessons; instruction and checking the factual state of things are not our main goals. We aim at conversations, listening to opinions and exchanging experiences; we want reflections on the party's life today. Among the commission members are people with great experience as well as very young people; workers and peasants, city and village secretaries. They have their own personal opinions, sometimes quite original, but in a group a collective wisdom is born.

It was in Bodzentyń, where a worker from the Ostrowiec foundry spoke emotionally about the first postwar years when party members were few and when the enemy lay in wait for them behind every stone, yet their stubbornness and fervor prevailed. At the meeting with the party aktiv of the Pump Factory in Bialogon, the worker from the Truck Factory [FSC] shared with the aktiv his work experience with party groups, which the Pump Factory lacks. The party must be close, very close to the most important link in our lives, namely production. On the other hand, there must be representatives of the working class among the high echelons of the party, in committees and executive boards. Thus we are not talking about control, but rather a conversation, a mutual reminder of the issues and obligations of a party member.

This was the case in Bodzentyn. The party members in the gmina number 493, the gmina committee has 10 members and the Gmina Party Control Commission [GKKP] and Gmina Audit Commission [GKR] have 7 members each. Here, less than in other gminas, for example Morawica, one could hear calls for visits from the provincial committee, and above all people would like to see a secretary. The dilemma is whether these calls are justified. The secretaries try to be in several places at once, yet they cannot be everywhere. Instructors and section directors also visit and are in charge of committees. There are the provincial aktiv and the Provincial Committee members. In sum, I think one could gather about 300 comrades in the rank of functionaries, or elected to visit committees as well as POPs. Yet one does not hear complaints about the need for help, contacts or perhaps even training. City, gmina and factory committees search for someone from the provincial organization, and the basic organizations--for someone from the city. I do not believe that help is indispensable in the literal sense of the word, for city, gmina and workplace committees, because they do not lack people who are talented, bright and energetic. On the other hand, frequent contacts with the provincial organization are necessary, in order to carry quickly observations to the top, and for the stimulation of criticism, among other things.

More important, in my opinion, is the participation of the provincial, city and workplace aktiv in rural POP meetings. I think each rural party meeting ought to be attended by someone from the gmina, city or even provincial organization. This is a question of strengthening the very badly weakened worker-peasant alliance. It is incredible that half of the city residents come from the countryside and a great number of countryside residents commute to jobs in the city, thus there are family and work ties, yet the bonds are breaking.

Perhaps we had resigned too early from previous forms of city-countryside cooperation; from factory repair teams, from permanent ties of factory party organizations with real villages; from medical "white Sundays" [days when doctors visited the countryside to minister to the peasantry] as well as from newer forms of peasant visits in factories, in an enterprise working for agriculture and viceversa. I dare not even dream it, yet the countryside craves specialists: electricians, locksmiths and masons. On the other hand, how do you speak about the needs of the countryside, when each factory needs people? And yet... If we want to feed our country, which we must, it is time to think about specialists for the countryside and let engineers worry about factories by introducing mechanization and improving technology.

In Bodzentyn Gmina there are 30 POPs and only one administrative unit lacks a party organization. The frequency of meetings and the attendance are erratic. In a certain gmina, which I will not name because I do not want to shame it publicly, we found a rather sad picture. The number of party members and candidates was rather high, over 300, yet in 7 villages there was no POP and the agricultural collective lacked a party organization; in 3 of the POPs there had not been a meeting for a year, and of 8 meetings which were to be attended by provincial organization comrades, 4 did not take place for lack of attendance. The causes of this are obvious; these POPs were simply left to their own fate.

They said in Bodzentyn: If a meeting is well prepared, if the topic is interesting, if the discussion concerns issues important for the community and an evaluation of the attitudes of concrete people, then the room will be full. This is true and I will add that the arrival of someone from the city or even from the province, promotes attendance because it guarantees that the problems will be more quickly heard at the top.

We told ourselves honestly that party discipline among us has weakened, that not all of us walk straight yet, because we are burdened by sharp and often justified party self-criticism as well as indiscriminate attacks by the enemies of socialism. It is time to straighten our backs and to pull ourselves together.

In Bodzentyn there is no crisis of will and the effects are visible. Now we must remind ourselves that we are a leninist party, organized and disciplined, and the status obliges every one of us. Now we must close our ranks tightly. We have set many things in order in the country thanks to party decisions and Sejm decrees. Both the Sejm decrees and party decisions, although centrally undertaken, resulted from the will and expectations of the working people. Now it is time to implement them in factories, the countryside and workplaces. What if it is hard, problems abound, wages are meager and it is hard to buy this and that? No one promised that things would be easy. No one. The Ninth Congress, emphasizing our socialist achievements as well as our errors on this road, announced that difficult years were before us. Yet today one can already see that we have got started, still slowly and uncertainly, with hesitations, yet the momentum is only up to us.

This is what they said in Bodzentyn, praising the attitudes of the local teachers, the industriousness and thriftiness of the farmers.

We have left behind us the times of window-dressing, the pursuit of the glitter and cheap effects. We have crossed out with a thick line the bragging secretaries who always knew everything better and often hid their private interests behind socialist rhetoric. Real intraparty democracy will not, however, drop into our laps from the Central or Provincial Committees; we must shape it in our own POPs. This demands discipline and courage. Nonparty persons are looking at us and weigh not only our words, but also our actions.

12270

CSO: 2600/1229

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Unionist Views on People's Labor Inspectorate

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 25 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by A. L.: "Unionists' Views on People's Labor Inspectorate"]

[Text] The law on People's Labor Inspectorate granted the unions a successive and significant range of responsibilities. Work safety is a matter that is equal in importance with social benefits. Most probably this topic will become an inspiration to many increasingly-heated union discussions in the workplaces where working conditions differ annoyingly from the required standards.

We have asked the unionists from the Poznan Rolling Stock Repair Works for their opinion on the People's Labor Inspectorate.

Jerzy Karkosz and Jerzy Kurkowiak:

The law on People's Labor Inspectorate was very much needed. We are already prepared for its practical application. In September we want to arrange elections of labor inspectors, first in the individual departments, and later plantwide elections.

Although this law makes it possible for a nonunionist to become an inspector, we have decided, however, that he will come from our organization. Such a solution is favored by two basic arguments. The first one consists in the possibility of making our representative accountable for the effects of the specific undertakings. We would not exercise easy control over somebody who is not connected organizationwise with the trade union movement. In addition, union can ask the management for a temporary leave for the labor inspector when it would be difficult to reconcile his professional activities with this social function. While the second argument, equally significant, boils down to the fact that the social standing of a labor inspector would rise considerably if he is backed by the trade union local, if he represents it.

The initial period of the activity of people's labor inspectors will certainly be not easy. They will have to gain confidence and authority among the workers, in addition, the management--by no means only that of our workplaces--has

somewhat forsaken the custom of accepting and solving positively complaints during the past years. Doubtlessly, we expect the closest cooperation with plant heads and with foremen, but we cannot exclude a possibility of the inspectors reaching even higher.

The first shots will be aimed at the deficiencies in particular work positions, sometimes just minor ones, which however, due to their widespread nature, are quite bothersome. [Deficiencies of this kind] are: maintaining order, proper lighting, and improving the work organization. We have to settle other matters also, those that indirectly or directly affect the culture and quality of work: dress rooms, supply of cold drinks and washing products.

This is just an outline of duties that will be carried out by the people's labor inspectors. Their number will certainly gradually grow, since this is guaranteed by the election of departmental inspectors who know best the specific nature and deficiencies of the individual work positions.

People Affairs--Most Important for Party

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26 Aug 83 p 1, 3

[Article by Kazimierz Feliczak: "There Are No More Important Matters for the Party Than Human Causes"]

[Text] People write letters.... To institutions, to TV, to papers, to party. Sheets of paper filled with unskilled handwriting protesting lawlessness, indifference, somebody's ill will. When the injustice is overpowering, when one is short of patience and nervous stamina to write--people travel with their complaint to gmina, voivodship, or to "even some higher-ups...."

All the indications suggest that there will be less and less of those complaints addressed to the voivodship and "higher." People will not have to seek justice so far away. Because the reform and social renewal comprise also ways of executing one's power. Power descends to meet the citizens. We are witnessing this daily, for instance when we present in the GAZETA periodic meetings of the PZPR Voivodship Committee's leadership and of the Voivodship Authority with the population of the voivodship, in the towns, villages, city districts and workplaces with the purpose of learning about the daily difficult problems and worries of citizenry. To remain close to people's affairs is the main objective of party activity. This was expressed by the party in the resolution of the 9th Plenary Session of the Central Committee on letters and complaints addressed to party echelons and organizations, and subsequently, in the instruction of the PZPR Central Committee's Secretariat on solving problems contained in letters, motions, proposals and complaints of the population. Although it has stressed it so emphatically recently, it has never excused anybody from the duty of abiding by the leninist principles of service for the working class and the ensuing meticulous and consistent examination of people's affairs. Each case of breaching of this principle made it easier for the antisocialist forces to attack the party and the foundations of socialist system.

This is why there are no more important matters for the party than people's affairs. On all the levels of its activity, particularly in the basic party cells that are functioning in institutions and offices having daily contact with citizens. It is extremely important, considering the fact that complaints and grievances addressed to the party are rife with sore social problems and worries which we must solve jointly....

As indicated by the statistics of citizens' letters and complaints that are addressed to party echelons and organizations in Poznan and Poznan Voivodship housing problems continue to be problem No 1. They pertain to the assignments of state-owned and cooperative apartments, substitute apartments, illegal occupation of units, speedier repairs of buildings, lengthy procedure of settling of these matters by the authorities, particularly of disputed cases. An important role is to be played by, among others, people's housing commissions and control boards of housing cooperatives that are to a considerable degree responsible for the housing policy in Poznan and Poznan Voivodship.

The next large batch of problems consists of complaints about irregularities in human relations in workplaces and a whole complex of problems that effectively complicate life of the residents of Poznan region villages. Particularly worrisome are the deficiencies in supplies of means of agricultural production and building materials, the low quality of agricultural services, and the lack of clearly-defined settlements concerning village property rights.

It is impossible to list all the topics of complaints and grievances that are being addressed to the party. They reflect faithfully daily difficulties resulting from the present country's socioeconomic situation, although there are also quite a few complaints following from the attitude of employees of various offices and institutions that serve the people. Inadequate sensitivity toward human problems, foot-dragging, neglect of regulations, bureaucratic attitude, finally--in some cases--lack of qualification, all these are particularly disquieting reasons of social dissatisfaction. We could have avoided all these problems. This will be facilitated by the party initiatives that follow 9th Central Committee Plenary Session. In Poznan in September 1982 the Voivodship Committee's Executive defined its conclusions concerning effective settlement of complaints by party echelons, while the Voivodship Committee's Secretariat systematically examined problems contained in letters and complaints. Voivodship Committee's Plenary Sessions devoted to those topics became a permanent part of the workplan of voivodship party echelons, while the door of the Voivodship Committee's Department of Letters and Inspection in the party building remains open every day to its clients without any restrictions.

We would like the state administration also look similarly at the problem of complaints and grievances of population. They constitute a kind of social sound that articulates people's views on many phenomena of our daily life and expresses their way of perceiving of various matters. Meanwhile, we do not always use this sound. At least this is the impression one has, watching how different levels of state administration react to people's complaints. Because if one can quite effectively correct errors that arose on the gmina, town, office

office or section levels, on the other hand any attempt to rectify erroneous decisions on the department or ministerial level is practically futile or at least a matter for the distant future. Let us quote an example of this unfortunate sheaf-tying machine string which appears in the news every year at the time of harvest, and the shortage of which has been felt by farmers again this year. This problem has been systematically reappearing like a boomerang for over 20 years in the form of complaints. Most probably it will exist also next year (we wish we were wrong!) at the time of harvest, and there is no force that can remove it once for all. After all, it engenders by far more important social consequences than many a single complaint case. Because it turns out that every kind of "insufficiency" of trade and branch central offices and various departments is reflected negatively not just voivodshipwide but nationwide, it engenders dissatisfaction and undermines confidence in people's authorities. Consequently, it is very easy to make a point about the incompetence of the authorities.

This is why the party principle that is presented in the documents for today's Voivodship Committee Plenary Meeting is so important, that...systematic and patient listening to complaints, grievances and worries of people who turn to the party with all their confidence constitutes the only and irreplaceable source of views of the people on the party, state policy, the administrative and economic apparatus, as well as on the vital problems of particular social groups. Collecting these views and drawing conclusions must constitute an inspiration for party activity in the interest of working people.

Reaction to Bad Daily Party Work Orders

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 27-28 Aug 83 p 1, 2

[Article by km: "Reacting to Bad Is an Order for Daily Party Work; PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenary Session in Poznan"]

[Text] There are no more important matters for the party than human issues--this statement can be recognized as a motto of yesterday's plenary debates of PZPR Voivodship Committee in Poznan devoted to the improvement of the methods of party work in the area of implementation of the resolution of the 9th PZPR Central Committee Plenary Session on letters and grievances addressed to party echelons and organizations in Poznan voivodship.

Debates, presided by the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, Brigadier Edward Lukasik, were attended by members of the central party authorities, including member of the Central Committee Politburo, Stanislaw Kalkus, representatives of voivodship authorities, fraternal-political parties, PRON Voivodship Council. We have noted the presence of Jerzy Ossowski, deputy chief of the Office of Letters and Inspection of PZPR Central Committee.

On behalf of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Jan Mielcarek, Voivodship Committee secretary, introduced the subjects of debate. Among others, he noted the particular topical nature of the problems taken up by the plenary meeting resulting from the country's political and economic situation. Proper

reacting to complaints and letters coming to party delimitates to a considerable degree progress in stabilization and democratization of social life, in an increase of the workers' units' influence on the affairs of their workplace, as well in improvement of individual, personal human destinies.

The postulate for shaping socialist relationships, respect of law, proper functioning of the administration, and fighting the authorities' abuses is not a new postulate for the party. It arises from the very genesis of PZPR, which is not only a political organization of the working class created to represent its collective interests, but is also a support for the citizens in solving their personal problems resulting from conflict situations, occurring particularly in the relationships between authorities and the citizen. Forsaking these principles, neglecting complaints and signals arriving from the population, and the consequent loosening of the party's ties with the working people, lead to a sociopolitical crisis with very familiar consequences.

Hence the prominent place in the PZPR 9th Congress resolution pertaining to party's concern about the affairs of working people, about responding by the party and people's authorities to signals, complaints, petitions for interventions that are addressed to them. In the spirit of this program defined were resolutions of the PZPR Central Committee's 9th Plenary Session and, subsequently, instruction of the Central Committee's Secretariat on solving problems that are contained in letters, postulates, proposals and complaints submitted to party echelons and organizations.

The fact that the Voivodship Committee's plenary session has for the first time taken up these problems in their totality means we are getting considerably closer to our aim, which consists in the inseparable treatment of complaints and grievances in the process of a systematic improvement of party activity. This concerns also ideological sphere of party work, in which many notions should regain their true meaning. From the standpoint of a workplace or enterprise this means enhancing the status of the trade union organization and self-government, treating those institutions as partners and not just as a front for management or some political organization. Lively activity by the trade unions can constitute an effective way of fighting the source and causes that produce complaints and grievances, thus forestalling conflicts.

This is also one of the most important aims of party organizations, particularly those that function in the sphere of immediate service to the people: in the offices and organs of state administration, in trade and in services.

Full utilization of conclusions that follow from letters and complaints in planning party work, as well as inspiring individuals and administrative-economic echelons in the direction of solving social problems, stated at the end of the debates secretary J. Mielcarek, constitute a natural and imperative method and form of maintaining and strengthening party's authentic ties with the working people. This facilitates authentication of the people's state and a more complete rebuilding of confidence of the whole population in the party.

Discussion at the plenary session constituted an elaboration and expansion of the statements and aims that were discussed in the previously-prepared materials and in the introduction to the discussions. Its participants were several comrades representing basic echelons and organizations, as well as control organs of the voivodship party echelon: Provincial Audit Commission [WKR] and Voivodship Party Control Committee [WKKP].

Among other things, the discussants were saying that complaints and letters of the population were coming to party echelons and Basic Party Organizations even during the period of the sharpest attacks from antisocialist forces against the party. This testifies to a confidence in the party as the last resort in matters, let us note, that differed in their weight: beginning with problems of social magnitude, ending with even most personal matters. This confidence calls for an obligation of an incisive examination of each complaint and proposal and of answering each of them, regardless of the final outcome of an individual case. Because they are not always favorable, particularly in the extremely difficult area of housing problems, problems by the way, that are the most common ones and the most difficult to settle for reasons that are perfectly well known.

The issue of forestalling problems and conflicts at their source kept reappearing in the pronouncements of the majority of discussants. It concerns especially the already-mentioned area of serving the citizens by administration, understood in a broad sense. Party organizations active in those milieus must raise their demands, particularly in regard to individuals holding managerial positions who were recommended for those positions by the party and made responsible by the party to interpret the regulations according to the interest of working people and socialist perception of social justice.

How much depends on the inspiring role of the party organization regarding the workers' service organizations, on the concern for neatness and order, is illustrated, among other things, by the example of Poznan's Wiepofama. The institution of complaints and grievances constitutes an inseparable element of party activity in this factory, while its authority is proved by, among other things, the fact that during the current year more than half of the complaints which found their way to the workplace party echelon originated from nonparty employees.

In an interesting pronouncement, containing many significant points by chairman of the Voivodship Party Control Committee, Marian Olszewski, there was also a statement about the institution of complaints and grievances being a specific form of party consultation with working people, an important source of information about the needs and aspirations of the working class, and thus it can and should be a factor that corrects the party programs. For this reason the Voivodship Party Control Committee carefully looks at the way complaints are being settled in party echelons and organizations, treating this form of party activity also as a struggle against all that is evil. We became a party that fights evil, both in society and in an individual, and here we shall find impetus for our activity, stimuli for an honest fulfillment of our duties.

Jerzy Ossowski also spoke during the discussion. Presenting a program of the most party goals resulting from the resolution of the 9th Central Committee Plenary Session, he drew attention to the fact that this program is addressed

to the party as a whole, and its implementation requires considerable amount of stubbornness, patience, as well as courage, particularly in all those cases where we are aiming at the implementation of the principles of social justice.

The most important goals and tasks for the voivodship party organization were formulated in the concluding resolution, which was accepted unanimously by the plenary session.

During its organizational part the plenary session took up the question of the change in the post of PZPR Voivodship Committee's Social and Economic Department head. While accepting Wlodzimierz Wycisk's request to be relieved from this post due to his assignment to economic apparatus work, at the same time plenary session approved for the post of PZPR Poznan Voivodship Committee's Social and Economic Department head the candidate submitted by the Voivodship Committee's Executive--Roman Bednarski, who until now held the post of secretary of PZPR District Committee in Poznan-Wilda.

Poznan Union Activities

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 27-28 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by A. L.: "Activity of Poznan Unionists; a Consecutive Nationwide Union Organization Is Being Born"]

[Text] Poznan unionists actively participate in creating nationwide structures of the professional movement. Let us recall the leading role of the metal workers, the poultry raisers, or the participation in setting up of the federations of construction workers, farm employees, and many others.

Twice, on 14 and 17 August [1983], representatives of union locals at the municipal and housing industry enterprises in the area of our voivodship met in Poznan. Union activists discussed problems pertaining to the future nationwide union structure of this branch, in the creation of also our region's representatives will participate.

At the first of these meetings the Wielkopolska Coordinating Team of the Trade Union of Employees of Municipal and Housing Industry Enterprises, was elected with Antoni Jakubowski as its chairman. The activity of this team will also cover the voivodship of Kalisz, Konin, Leszno and Pila. Its members give legal and practical assistance in setting up of enterprise union locals at the municipal and housing industry enterprises, as well as advice on the activity of the Founding Committee of the Nationwide Supra-Enterprise Structure of the Trade Union of Employees of Municipal and Housing Industry Enterprises.

Team's representatives are on duty on Thursdays between 12 and 2 pm in Poznan, Swierczewskiego Street, No 17, telephone No 407-22. Also in other regions that are covered by this team's activity information can be obtained by calling: in Kalisz--730-51, extension 18; in Konin--232-76, extension 6; in Wschowa; Leszno voivodship--26-05 or 22-06; in Pila--236-56.

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CSO: 2600/1296

PUBLIC SOCIAL PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Social Pathology, Workers' Problems

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 25 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by mich]

[Text] The range of negative occurrences undermining the life of our society is very extensive. How frequent and widespread are the stories of spreading corruption and bribery in medical practice, incompatible with the Hippocratic oath, exploitations of positions and duties performed in governmental institutions, among others, in higher education, abuses in trade and economy. What can be done? This question arises from the order of the day, to have this declared war bring expected results to all wrongdoings.

Certainly, all attempts in these endeavors will not bring desired results if they will not be conducted with unflinching consequences and will not receive genuine support from those who work with dedication and respect for law in providing for themselves and their families.

During yesterday's meeting of several production plant representatives from Krakow with the city authorities and directors of institutions engaged in combating social pathology, the first secretary of KK PZPR, Jozef Gajewicz, stated that the responsibility for the subjugation of pathology comes from seeing the party's leading role as one of servitude for labor. People are rightfully irritated by many negative occurrences, and in connection with this we have to declare a decided war against indicators of pathology agitating public opinion. There will be no talk about "sacred cows" or areas to which law will have no access.

During the meeting the first speaker was the president of the Krakow delegation of NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] Jan Karwacki. He presented the main outline the NIK will concentrate on in its nearest term of activity. He also talked about a very serious problem in our economy concerning administrative personnel, who often do not have a defined outline of their responsibilities or competence and only pretend to work. For this reason at each evaluation, NIK inspectors will pay special attention to matters connected with

work organization and its discipline, and also insist from management for precise definitions of assignments and responsibilities of subordinates. Another NIK direction will be the evaluation of economy programs from the standpoint of their effectiveness. The most difficult cases to resolve are the distasteful occurrences spreading within the health services. Unfortunately, everything is dependent on their personnel and directors, who themselves know which "sheep among them are black" and which are "white". Until the time that they are able to distinguish differences in these colors, he said, it will be very difficult for us to unravel this problem. The situation is similar in trade, services and transportation.

Reports on the activities undertaken by the Citizens Militia was presented by Col Marian Furgala, deputy chief of the Provincial Office of Internal Affairs. Presently, the most significant problems are house and auto break-ins, as well as auto thefts. Good results are attained by practical works of the Provincial Committee for War on Speculation, supported by PIH [State Supervision of Commerce]. Many corrupt practices were uncovered in business. In addition to this constant surveillance is kept on delivery of products to places of business. Observed are the happenings at the flea markets, exchanges and market places. Preventive and repressive actions are taken against cheats. In the near future these will be expanded. A separate problems are foreign currency "ponies". Many of their gangs have already been liquidated and from 1 August officials of the WUSW [Provincial Office of Internal Affairs] constantly assisted police agencies of Pewex and PKO. In addition to this, actions have been taken aimed at uncovering uneconomical managements of enterprises, and gasoline stations are controlled. The subject of health services has also been tackled. It should be noted that many misdemeanors are being uncovered due to the assistance of society.

A different problem is the conflict with tax evaders, explained Stanislaw Talaga assistant director of the Treasury Department. The control of this institution encompasses to a large degree illegal manufacturers and street vendors.

As Jozef Gajewicz noted, the Treasury Department can be of great service in fighting bribery within the health service. It is only necessary to take an interest in doctors who own several villas and automobiles. If they can prove that they obtained these with honestly-earned money, nobody will have any grievance, with the stipulation that he pay the appropriate taxes. That is how it is in the whole world.

Subjects raised in the discussion pertained in large measure to activities in business. Questioned were the reasons by merchandise was delivered to the stores only in the morning hours, which was advantageous for speculators, but creates a hardship for those who leave work in the afternoon. Why, it was asked, are vegetables and fruit at private stands so fresh and expensive, while in government stores they are not fresh and for that reason nobody wants to buy them?

General indignation was aroused by the information given by the assistant director of the Treasury Department, who spoke about some of the practices of foreign-owned companies trusted to commission their production to cooperatives basing their prices on domestic raw materials. In turn a representative

of MPK [Municipal Transport Enterprise], perturbed by the "contractual" price (260 zlotys) for a woodsaw, asked what that definition means. The District Price Control manager's answer was even more "strange", because it appears that his institution has practically no possibility to interfere in the pricing dictated by the producers. A commentary on this point is unnecessary.

Next, the representative of HIL spoke of the necessity to intensify the repressions of hoodlums and of those youths who occupy stairways, accosting returning residents in the evening without anybody knowing how they manage to live. Also mentioned was discipline in the work establishment. Many such establishments abandoned from every day by unreliable workers. The reason often is very simple, they found a more lucrative position with a firm conducting construction abroad. The question remains: Why do they hire them anyway?

These and other problems presented during yesterday's meeting will be raised in a short time by the Krakow Committee of PZPR and institutions assembled to combat social pathology.

Present at the deliberation was the president of Krakow, Tadeusz Salwa.

Black Marketeers in Foreign Currency

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 25 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by han: "Hard Times For Foreign Currency Black Marketeers"]

[Text] In August of this year, the Krakow militia conducted successive actions for the purpose of combating foreign currency exchange. This resulted in the apprehension of 42 "foreign currency dealers," more than \$2,000 were sought, M 380, Fr 150, 120 levs and also over 2.5 million zlotys, 3.5 kg of silver items and 65 grams of gold products.

The militia's penetration of foreign currency black marketeering centers, gave rise to many interesting observations. Confusion reigns on the currency black market, stemming from the lack of money. Black marketeers and foreign-currency fences, in other words, all of those who brazenly solicited clients going to the bank at the Central Square, or to the stores of Pewex, are having increasing difficulties in obtaining foreign currencies. These disappear with lightning speed, being bought up by "sharks" in illegal exchange, having their own so-called "stables". The touts work for bosses and successfully eliminate competition. The "boss", who attains the highest profit, naturally does not dirty his hands with small pickings. He has steady customers for his foreign currency, who have in a relatively short time ago appeared in Poland.

As we have been informed by the director of the Division for Combating Economic Misdemeanors within the Provincial Office of Internal Affairs in Krakow, Major M. A. Jan Kowal, some foreign-owned companies through second parties are engaged in buying up foreign currency. Foreign currency is indispensable for the purchase of Western raw materials.

At this point it should be noted that in compliance with rulings, the foreign-owned company must purchase raw materials with foreign currency derived from sales of exported goods produced in our country. Many of the firms do so, but there are some whose products for reasons of quality do not have a chance in the competitive Western market. However, in our country, if one only considers the shortages at our stores, goods of mediocre quality sell at exorbitant prices, increasing enormously the profits for the owners.

So what does the foreign owner do, having a surplus of zlotys and not having foreign currency? The business man exchanges the Polish money for convertible currencies with the help of the black marketeering of foreign currency "bosses". The latter are very pleased with these conditions, since they have a steady wholesale customer always paying several "points" above the prevailing black market rate in dollars. This is one of the reasons for the steady rise in the unofficial price the dollar; from this comes the shortage of convertible currency.

Naturally, it is easier to fight the touts, but it is more difficult to get to the skin of the bosses. Activities of the militia are aimed, however, at getting hold of all the points of illegal exchange, to effectively liquidate this specific profession. So today it is harder for the black market foreign-currency touts, we should state that among their number we are finding more young people--and pensioners. Let us also state that the Treasury Department is working effectively in assessing stiff monetary penalties to persons guilty of illegal transactions. We have been assured that our August activities against foreign currency exchange dealings were not of an incidental character, but will be continued through the whole year.

12306

CSO: 2600/1315

MILITARY SCHOOL CHIEF DISCUSSES OFFICER EDUCATION

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 15, 10 Apr 83 pp 5, 10

[Interview with Col Zygmunt Kwiatkowski, M.A., chief of the Military Schools and Academies Department in the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army, by Gabriel Trojanowski: "An Honorable and Responsible Profession"]

[Text] [Question] Each year, beginning in January till June, our editorial board receives particularly many letters from students in the graduation classes, inquiring about the military higher academies and schools. That is what has happened at present too, since we are now approaching the final deadline for submission of applications to such academies and schools, followed by entrance examinations... We would like therefore to ask you, Citizen Colonel, as the most competent person, to answer some of these questions. We have selected only those referring to higher officer schools, since they are the most numerous. Let us begin with a question from a letter by Marian Marzec from Zabrze: What do the social and living conditions of cadets in higher officer schools look like?

[Answer] The social and living conditions are good. Cadets receive, free of charge, everything they need for living and studying. Namely, not only food and uniforms, but textbooks and all kinds of stationery as well. Senior classes live in boarding-school-type rooms. Our intention is to extend the boarding school system and to include junior classes of cadets as well. Obviously, everybody enjoys guaranteed health service and appropriate conditions for ample relaxation and recreation. Everybody gets "pocket money" for minor personal spending. To sum up, cadets are fully independent of material support by their parents.

[Question] Many letters repeat the question: What about the cadets' leisure? It has been posed, i.e., by Andrzej Michalski from Lodz, followed by a remark that in his opinion students in civilian university-type schools are totally free to dispose of their time, while cadets suffer, in this respect, from certain disadvantages.

[Answer] In addition to their learning assignments, students of higher military schools are obliged to participate in afternoon self-improvement classes. Moreover, in accord with the fixed order of the day and with

military regulations, they are obliged to clean their weapons and military equipment, as well as to carry many other duties. But obviously they also dispose of free time, by no means all that short, which is exclusively their own. Even during working days there are opportunities for leaving the school grounds to attend to their personal affairs, provided that is known to their superiors. During days free from learning assignments, they can visit their families or take a longer trip... While comparing students with cadets in respect of their freedom to dispose of leisure, we have to take into account that in civilian universities the discipline of studies is also enforced. One has to attend lectures, exercises, seminars, often scheduled in the afternoon hours or even in the evenings. Students, of course, can "relax" and miss some lectures or exercises. But cadets? It is difficult to imagine that [a cadet] would go out with his girl, instead of attending scheduled lessons. But it is arguable who gets the best of it.

[Question] Meaning that students in civilian universities have more freedom to dispose of their leisure, while students in military academies have less to fear their term examinations? Is that true?

[Answer] One can put it that way.

[Question] Another question, posed by Janusz Grzelak from Janow. It goes: What is the subject of teaching in the higher officer schools, or--to put it in a different way--what kind of officers are being prepared by such schools?

[Answer] One would have to begin by listing all the regular subjects taught in higher officer schools. In addition to general military, technical, and specialized subjects, there are such [courses] as higher mathematics, physics, history, philosophy, economics, sociology, psychology, education, as well as foreign languages. All of them [taught] at the university level. But that is generally known. Let me, therefore, use some generalizations. One should realize that every military school of higher learning, including all the higher officer schools, strive at three different targets: teaching, education, and research. As concerns the first of these targets, it aims at preparing enlightened commanders: engineers, masters of military combat technology, economists--as, for instance, in the Higher Officer School of Logistics--or finally, political officers. As for the second, educational, target, cadets are being imbued with desirable opinions, convictions, and sociopolitical attitudes. That is the most important aspect. As how they will be educated, so will they in future educate the soldiers under their command. To educate soldiers means not only to promote their habits of discipline, obedience, and respect for seniors and superiors. It also means to prepare them as citizens, above all to implant them with immense love of their homeland and permanent solicitude for its security, for the independence of the nation and of the socialist state. As concerns the third target, future officers are being initiated to passion and habits of creative research activities. Cadets are therefore encouraged to engage in certain research carried on in higher officer schools. This purpose is additionally served by the Cadets'

Scholarly Circles, founded in all the military schools. Only by aiming to achieve all the three targets together, military schools prepare candidates for officer posts in the armed forces. It can, therefore, be said that the contemporary graduate of a higher officer school is an officer who had acquired abundant knowledge of general-military, expert, and sociopolitical nature, as well as the ability to practice this knowledge in training and educating soldiers.

[Question] From what you have said, Citizen Colonel, the status of the officer's profession in the society begins to emerge. Might we not learn something more about this subject? We have received a lot of letters, with questions concerning the status of the officer's profession, e.g., by Wladyslaw Zajac from Walbrzych and by Witold Bednarski from Kielce.

[Answer] It is a profession which enjoys a very high social status. It counts among those various professions which are considered as being of special significance in the society. Its highest value lies in the readiness to defend the independence of the nation and of the state, even at the price of one's own life. How significant this profession is, can be gaged by the fact that the appointment to the lowest officer rank is granted by the Council of State, similarly as in the case of ambassadors, professors, and judges.

[Question] How would it compare to those other professions?

[Answer] If we are to compare them, then to the medical profession, where human life and health are the supreme value, or else to the profession of the teacher whose supreme duty is to train and educate young people. But it has no equals as to the rights it bestows. It gives, after all, the right to issue orders to subordinates, to exercise over them a total decisionmaking power, and to dispose of weapons and combat equipment. At the same time it is a profession which imposes on officers the most important duties, which amount to the exemplary training and education of soldiers, to a permanent solicitude for their life, health, social and living conditions, for ample cultural relaxation, etc. Every professional soldier, officers obviously included, must live in instant, permanent readiness to fulfill all his service duties. His behavior must fit the rigors of the military discipline, the standards of morality, ethics, and military custom. At the same time he must always improve his military qualifications.

[Question] Might it, therefore, be said that it is an honorable profession, but at the same time a highly responsible and difficult one? Is that right?

[Answer] That is correct. Therefore all those who intend to enroll in professional schools and military academies should thoroughly ponder their decision. To be an officer is an honor indeed. But it is a profession destined for brave and courageous people, who do not fear difficulties, who have a predilection for military service. To admire the army on parade or when marching past, and to consecrate to it one's entire professional life--those are two different things.

[Question] It has been said that the level and modern character of higher officer schools are by no means inferior to those of civilian schools of higher learning. How does that come out? The question was asked by Wieslaw Mlynczak of Zapusty.

[Answer] The level of teaching in any school of higher learning depends on several factors. One could list here the lecturers and their educational preparation to advancement in teaching; the students and their motivation to achieve high results of studies; and the school administration and its attitude toward the introduction of modernity into the educational process and the research studies. In my opinion, all those three factors are duly appreciated in every higher officer school. They are appreciated and duly implemented in practice. One should also stress the methods of teaching; they include "round-table discussions," which allow the cadets to express their own opinions, to rectify them, to convince the teacher, and to learn the principle that it is the force of arguments, and not the argument of force or the formal superiority of the lecturer which decides who is right.

[Question] What can we reply to Zbigniew Stachowicz from Plock, who wants to know for sure whether the so-called individual program of studies for the most brilliant cadets is still in force?

[Answer] A particularly brilliant cadet may follow a study program according to a separate, individual schedule. That means that he is not bound to pass examinations nor to obtain credits for mandatory exercises in times provided for all the cadet body. It allows for earlier graduation, even a full year ahead of time.

[Question] Why girls cannot be admitted to higher officer schools? That is a question posed in a letter by Aneta Wojcik from Lublin. By the way, it is not the only letter from girls who would like to become officers.

[Answer] In peacetime girls should not be exposed to such a great physical burden or mental stress, which are inherent to military service. While it is true that rules of employment of girls in auxiliary service as photometricians are being implemented, it occurs on a small scale and can hardly be called military service. Therefore the fact that at present girls cannot be admitted to military schools and academies in no way signifies their discrimination or treatment as citizens of a different rank.

[Question] And, finally, a question from a letter by Tadeusz Mrowiec from Wroclaw: What could you tell him about the career start of a higher officer school graduate, as compared to the career start of a graduate of a civilian school of higher learning?

[Answer] It is a more auspicious start. A graduate of a higher military school, like a graduate of any professional military school, does not, for instance, have to look for a job, he has it guaranteed. He finds it also easier to get an apartment. Well, that stems from the higher status of the profession I have presented here.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

12485

CSO: 2600/1300

COMMENTATOR TAKES PESSIMISTIC VIEW OF CULTURAL SCENE

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 36, 3 Sep 83 p 16

[Article by KTT: "The Forest Can't Be Seen"]

[Text] It is difficult to call the dissolution of the Association of Polish Writers [ZLP] by order to the president of the capital city of Warsaw a shocking event. For some time now, but especially since the publishing of a vocal cycle of articles in TRYBUNA LUDU which were devoted to an analysis of relations within the literary community, this was expected. The surprise was not due to the fact that the knell sounded, but to the protracted length of the agony.

I have no intention at this time, of rehashing the arguments put forth by the conflicting sides, the government administration and the directors of the now dissolved ZLP. During the protracted process of talks, negotiations, accommodations, and breaks, all those involved managed repeatedly to hit each other's sore spots. Under such circumstances it is almost impossible to come to the point. In addition, a new initiative for forming an association has sprung up and its future will show how much the literary community is divided internally and how much toleration and cooperation it is capable of. It may also show to what extent an association is really needed by writers to do their job, which incidentally, does not seem to be such a sure thing. For example, Stanislaw Dygat, one of the unquestionably great Polish writers of the postwar period did not belong to the ZLP. Artur Maria Swinarski, one of the most prolific playwrights and translators of his time, was not a ZLP member. One can name other active writers to whom an association membership card was unnecessary--well, less necessary than paper and ink. But I would rather not mention this in a rather serious column (I hear rumors that my last few columns were not all that amusing but rather "serious"; this is true and I sincerely envy my excellent colleagues who still have the desire to laugh).

The dissolution of the ZLP ends a cycle of efforts and measures whose goal was to restore normal function to creative associations which were suspended on the day martial law was declared. The ZLP was the last organization of this type whose fate was still unsure and undecided. The wrapping up of this matter at this phase at least forces a summation which, I believe, should provoke some thought. The factual situation is this--from all the creative associations only three, the Association of Polish Composers [ZKP], the Society of Polish

Film-makers [SFP], and the Association of Photographic Artists [ZAF] have renewed their activities in organizations that retain the form they had before the "suspension." Only the ZKP has the same president it had before martial law. The Association of Public Journalists [SDP] which was dissolved immediately into the SD PRL [Journalists' Association of the Polish Republic] which now has nearly two-thirds of the membership of the old SDP. The Association of Polish Plastic Artists [ZPAP] which were resurrected and then dissolved has not been reconstructed to date and one would expect it to be divided into several strictly "branch" associations, as is the already existing Sculptors' Association, rather than be rebuilt in its old form. The Association of Polish Stage and Screen Artists of ZASP-SPATIF has ceased to exist but the initiative of Henryk Szletynski for building a new association has not yet yielded clear results. In this summation I am omitting organizations such as SARP [Association of Architects of the Polish Republic], SPAM [Polish Musicians' Association], ZAKR [Association of Film Directors] and others which play a smaller but more specific part in the life of the artistic communities.

The question arises, is this summation, taking into account all the circumstances, a good or a bad one, a hopeful or a gloomy one?

I will repeat again, I do not wish to take sides or address the question whether these associations, in their present form, answer the current needs of the communities they represent. That is a problem to be solved by those communities. This matter, however, is important not as a collection of real solutions but as a fragment of a wider idea, the idea of achieving understanding. From that point of view it is difficult to call this summation hopeful. It is simply evident that in many cases which concern conflicts arising from the contact of government politics and the organizational life of artistic communities in Poland, it was not possible to reach an understanding.

This unhappy fact has its own very complex causes. Among them is the long tradition of Polish cultural life which is rather anachronistic and is fueled by romantic fantasies. Because of such thinking the artistic communities, often on their own initiative, consider themselves as the chief exponents of the "national spirit" which when combined with the mechanisms of modern politics more often than not produces some strange results and gives rise to some paradoxical situations. Another factor is the peculiar love-hate relationship which exists between creative and political people. Both groups work with similar materials in the sphere of collective human emotions. Both groups vie for national leadership in the same arena, therefore the love, envy, hate, admiration, and ambition create a thick and heated atmosphere. The tradition of the communist movement is not without influence here, before taking political power it was shaped in the sphere of abstract ideas, words, proclamations, programs, slogans, while believing in their practical power "which becomes real when it encompasses the masses." No other government or bourgeois party attaches such meaning to what the writers write, painters paint, or film-makers film as do the socialistic governments. This is a fine cultural stance but it is equally troublesome.

To this catalogue we can add many different causes, from the very pedestrian, as for example the matter of the "dual patronage" which acts in our cultural life, about which Sandauer wrote in his time, to facts lying in the sphere of common people of weak character who cause disruptions, conflicts, scandal, wrongs, and offenses that are difficult to separate from public matters. It must be admitted that there are exceptionally many such occurrences, which again shows not only the unadmirable portrait of our political culture, but also of the culture of dealing with others in general. Someday it will all be told from the backstage perspective, and if there are times that chroniclers dream about, surely the present times must belong to these.

If we wish, however, to pull away from this thicket out of which we can't see the forest, and we must, then there is only one important matter. That is the matter of the future shape of Polish culture.

Culture is a thing too serious to have its fate decided by the government alone. Today this axiom seems universally evident to both the political leadership and to the creative communities. It would be careless, especially today, when the material existence of culture is threatened like never before by the crisis (it is well-known that the easiest place for "budget cuts" and "savings" is in cultural allocations), but the forms of activity practiced by the cultural institutions must undergo far reaching revisions in the face of changes in our economic life and, let us hope, in our social life. Probably now no one will dare to proclaim that, as we heard not so long ago, "reforms do not apply to culture," or that the marketplace with all its laws will by some miracle leave bookstores, publishing houses, theatres and movie houses unaffected. Under these conditions the involvement of cultural people is necessary as the subject, not just the object, of the changes that are coming about. What is this involvement to look like, as a practical proposition, in the present situation?

Let us look at one example, the National Cultural Council. This council was created some time ago, together with a "packet" of highly positive cultural laws that were passed by the Sejm in May 1982, but the selection of its members took some more time. It was to be a "cultural parliament," that is, a body which would set directions for cultural development and discuss the most controversial cultural matters. The Ministry for Culture and Arts would be the executive organ of this body. This was the idea and its model created hope. But please tell me if anyone has heard about the activities of this "parliament"? What part did it play in formulating, or even giving an opinion on the main government campaigns in the cultural sphere, for example; the campaign on the subject of books, the National Theater, the aims in cinematographic reforms, the plan for regionalizing cultural activities? What role, one of advisor or mediator, did the Cultural Council play in controversial matters of the cultural communities and organizations? What did it contribute to the general understanding of the needs and dangers to culture at this moment?

Such questions are numerous and they are rhetorical questions. But with the disappearance of the part played by the Cultural Council and the lessening of the role of the creative associations (let's not fool ourselves, for a long

time to come these associations, glued together after an earthquake, will be weaker than before) the structure is creaking, a structure which should be the foundation for cultural life organizations in Poland, a structure which is based on wide understanding, cooperation, and mutual responsibility. This is the same one I wrote about a week ago in reference to our entire life, speaking about self-rule and independence.

12411

CSO: 2600/1287

WORKERS POLLED ON IMPLEMENTATION OF 1980 AGREEMENTS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 19-21 Aug 83 pp 1, 3

[Article based on interviews by J. Chomiuk, R. Jesswein, D. Koniec, T. Malinowski, L. Nauka, and L. Tylutka: "SZTANDAR MŁODYCH Poll on the August Agreements. From the Perspective of 3 Years"]

[Text] The third anniversary of the August agreements is approaching. In conjunction with this, we turned to our readers with the questions: What is your view of these agreements today and how do you appraise their realization?

Jerzy Bak, foreman of the Falubaz Lubusz Cotton Carding Machine Factory in Zielona Gora, 32 years old:

It is my opinion that all the agreements signed in August 1980 in Gdansk, Jastrzebie and Szczecin have not lost any of their timeliness. However, a portion of the matter has been neglected to which we must return as soon as possible. We need not devise or sign new agreements, only return to those which already exist. We all must find a feasible means for their realization. Those agreements reach far into the future and promise us an improved standard of living.

Labor unions must study those agreements scrupulously. That which has not been put into effect must be examined once more and realized as soon as possible. I believe that there now exists a significantly better opportunity for realizing many of the demands. The process of normalization of life which is now progressing guarantees this. During this time we have accomplished a great deal and it seems to me that we will accomplish still more.

Stanislaw Wyrodek, 33 years old, a miner from the Katowice mine:

There is a lot of talk today about money. When the agreements were signed in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie, one of the questions was in reference to wages as well. It was a matter of compensating people for their work in the most equitable manner. In this respect, nothing has changed after all. Now, too, throughout the whole country, we are trying to adjust wages

so that they conform to quality of work. It is just that something of a mess emerged from the August agreements--wages rose while stores grew empty. And arguments still continue as to who makes a good salary and who feels slighted. On the whole, what can one do with the money, since its value is dropping headlong and the primary place to put it is the PKO [Polish Savings Bank] bankbook. As far as that goes, not much money ever remains for the PKO since life at present is expensive. I am not saying that such a state of affairs is an effect of the realization of the agreements of 1980. I do say that some errors ensued in implementing those agreements and it is necessary to set them right quickly today.

Jerzy Kreutz, worker, 29 years old, Bydgoszcz:

Our reforms in public life, about which a great deal was said in the agreements of 1980, have not come to a stop. We have sufficient evidence of this, for example, laws and institutional solutions adopted by the Sejm and other state organs. For me personally, the August agreements were a giant step on the road to some changes. To be sure, not all shortcomings and errors were successfully eliminated; and that is surely because a significant portion of society was only minutely engaged in carrying the agreements into effect. However, one cannot continue believing--and one does come across such opinions--that the government did nothing with regard to the realization of the agreements adopted in August 1980.

Jozef Ziemiński, worker at the Pafawag Railroad Car Factory in Wrocław:

The August agreements were needed. One could say they were the result and inevitable consequence of no other than the development of the situation in 1980.

It was the fulfillment of the expectations of the Polish working class and authorities--evidence of the entire nation's high degree of political consciousness and culture. They were endorsed by society as a whole and it could not be otherwise; for, after all, they were signed in the name of everyone and they took into account the interests of all working people in our country.

Then, a "hot period" in Polish history followed. It seems to me, though, that the government consistently put the August agreements into force, as far as the situation allowed. You have to realize that, after all, many of the points contained in them could not be put into effect "at once," "from the beginning." It seems to me that much has already been done and I hope--observing the situation in the country--that much will still be done. What is needed today is consistency on the part of the authorities at all levels and great understanding as well as discretion on the part of society. Putting into effect the stipulations contained in the agreements is realizable. It is necessary to look carefully at those which are concerned with matters of wages, and adapt them to the current situation, to the prices in force at present, as well as to the new face of the Polish economy.

Society's attention is focused on the August agreements, but peculiarly so, somewhat magically or mythically. You see it even in the comments made above. The majority of our respondents--perhaps like the broader circles of working people--do not make detailed analyses of stipulation after stipulation; nor do they make a scrupulous examination of which of the contracts signed 3 years ago has been realized or not. This is the results of the fact that the situation 3 years ago cannot be compared to that of today.

Also, a segment of society believes that these agreements have not been realized at all. Most often, these same individuals believe that the actions taken by the government of late, the adoption of laws and other legislative acts, are by all accounts a sham or actions of little effect. What is interesting is that people who think in this manner expressed their opinions in our poll, but did not want to reveal their names. Do they lack courage? Lack faith? Perhaps there are other considerations? That is why we are not publishing these anonymous statements.

There is 27-year-old Danuta, who tells our correspondent in Szczecin: "In the agreements, matters were found which were and are very important for us all. I believe that their realization should be the government's most important task, if it wants to win the support of the people... According to my subjective opinion, the government acts from a position of power, which improves the situation somewhat (if there are no disturbances, all the better). Somehow the most important problems have not been solved... most important is convincing people the government has their good at heart..."

Thus, opinions on the subject of the realization of the August agreements are extremely polarized. There are a number of reasons which account for this, including--and let us not cover this up--the reluctance or inability for objective, rational thinking by a still-significant number of individuals, and also obstinacy, the influence of foreign propaganda hostile to Poland and the Polish people, and at times mistrust.

The circumstances in which the August demands are at present being put into effect require realistic thinking. In point of fact, no sensible person supports the desire or demand that all those in need of an apartment should receive one within 5 years. While a detailed analysis is not made as to what extent the agreements have been put into effect, nevertheless they remain, unmistakably, a symbol of society's aspiration for social, political and economic reforms. If it is generally said that there are difficulties in realizing the demands and that people are not active enough--it means the process of reform is progressing with resistance. The reasons for this phenomenon must be carefully examined.

Jan Pronobis, 29 years old, set-up man at the Baildon Steelworks:

From the perspective of 3 years, one looks somewhat differently at the events of those days and, as a result of them, the agreement of the workers of Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie. Surely one cannot deny the legitimacy

of the workers' actions--the corruption of those days was the cause of that uncontrolled outburst of the working people. It was spontaneous and certainly sincere. It is just that today one is able to stop and consider whether emotions dominated over common sense then. Could valid demands from somewhere or other be realized in the country's present state and with our economy? After all, even back then we knew a little about our debts, problems in the marketplace and gaps in the economy. Perhaps the picture then was not clear enough in order to understand that it was impossible to realize the economic demands. For me, the August agreements are a historical fact of tremendous value. Yet, one does hear the voices of some who require we abandon for a time the contract which was entered into--those points which concern work hours and compensation, so as to return to their full realization in a year or two when the state of the national economy allows. I do not know whether you can carry that out in our society. However, I believe it can be given some thought.

Grazyna Herman, assistant lecturer at the Institute of German Philology at the University of Wroclaw, 27 years old:

The agreements of 1980 constituted the end of a particular stage in our country's development. But, at the same time, they inaugurated a new historical era. To be sure, that was a historical event and to this day I remember with what emotion and relief I received precisely that solution to the memorable conflict.

My feelings were that this was the beginning of a new way of thinking on the part of the authorities, which very soon found its expression in a package of new laws and decrees making it possible to introduce economic reforms, on which a great deal of my hopes are set, though I realize it cannot be put into effect "all at once." I am filled with anxiety by the attitude of a good part of society--I have in mind here those governed as well as those in government--which is unable to understand that reform, the consequence of the August agreements, is inseparably tied to active participation.

I wish very much that it were possible to realize soon the stipulation concerning the 5-year waiting period for an apartment. I myself do not have one of my own as yet and I am well aware that improving housing conditions to a large extent can effect an improved mood among young people who are now continually frustrated.

In my opinion, by means of this historical lesson--as the August agreements indeed were--society gave proof of its considerable maturity. Let us never forget or treat lightly the lessons gained from this.

Andrzej Hodun, 27 years old, chairman of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] Gmina Board in Janow Podlaski, Biala Podlaska Voivodship:

The NSZZ Solidarity unions were ones which suited the sentiments of the younger generation. At first, their activity was good and useful. With the passing of time, however, a struggle ensued over position, rather than

action for the benefit of workers. Such labor unions could not continue further. At present, we have new unions. There are many of them and they attempt to defend the interests of workers. Still, their weak point is that they act independently, structures beyond the plant level are missing.

For obvious reasons, progress is slow putting the August agreements into effect. The country's difficult economic situation has placed us in a position in which we certainly cannot boast of having an abundance of everything. We ran short of things. It was unnecessary to expand imports to such an extent. August showed us how dependent we are on the West. Also, it showed us that we could do much by ourselves. We cannot afford free Saturdays and paid maternity leave at this time. Many people could go to work, but it does not pay them to do so because they are provided with benefits. The stipulation that everyone who is in need of an apartment receive one within 5 years was appropriate, but unrealistic. Personally, I see an improvement in the housing situation by producing more building materials and earmarking them for needs in private construction. This would shorten the waiting line for cooperative housing considerably.

12491

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GENERAL'S MEMOIRS ON COLLAPSE OF YUGOSLAVIA QUESTIONED

Analysis

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 83 pp 23-25

[Article by Mladen Maloca]

[Text] "Go your own way and let the world say whatever it wants." Retired general and former general-staff captain in the old Yugoslavia, Velimir Terzic, took this saying of Marx's (who knows where and when Marx said it?) as the motto of his new, huge two-volume book (1,557 pages) "Slom Kraljevine Jugoslavije" [The Collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia]. It seems, however, that this saying is the only trace of Marx's teaching and the Marxist approach and method in this book on the dramatic events of the spring of 1941, which has obviously been written with high aspirations. In the search for social and historical causes and reasons for the sudden collapse of the army and politics of the old Yugoslavia, Terzic seems to have decided to follow his first book published 18 years ago, "Jugoslavija u aprilskom ratu" [Yugoslavia in the April War]. Although on that occasion very serious objections were made to the author's approach and method, and to the one-sided observation and explanation of the collapse of the old, monarchic Yugoslavia, Terzic does not seem to have drawn the right conclusions but has taken another step based on the motto from the beginning of the book.

Perseverance, consistency and engagement are significant human virtues, and should not be transformed into their opposites when dealing with historical truth and scientific ethics. Yet this is taking place under the protection and guise of positive reviews by prominent historians, scientists and scholars (the book has been reviewed by Milinko Gjurovic, retired general, by the members of the Academy Milorad Ekmecic and Metod Mikuz, and by Dr Vuk Vinaver), although the 12-day agony of the old Yugoslavia and the days leading to it have been the subject of many books and studies, pronouncements and judgments that have not been proven wrong with the course of time, but, on the contrary, fully confirmed.

Roots and Causes: Terzic's book should undoubtedly be the fruit of a long, patient and dedicated, not at all easy, responsible scientific research of one period in the history of our peoples. Terzic has obviously invested into it all his knowledge, physical and intellectual capacities, and the

researcher's passion. A testimony to this is the size of this large book, huge bibliography, and meticulous analyses of even the smallest details. Terzic must be given credit for this, although the experts in this area will probably give their judgment on this, too.

The problem certainly consists in the interpretation, explanation and author's vision of the roots and causes of the collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. From this point of view, Terzic and his book could easily be put among those authors and works that have been flooding us lately. Somebody wittily characterized these books as "quarrel books" or "rift-books." Even a superficial look at the pages and the table of contents of the book shows that such a typology can easily be applied to the collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Namely, looking for the causes of the April collapse, Terzic as a rule finds its roots for the most part in Croatia. This thesis takes a considerable space, and in the spirit of this "discovery" Terzic develops the idea of the book, sticking constantly to proofs, persuasions and interpretations that confirm, in one way or another, his apriori position.

Isn't this the well-known method in historiography when the author subordinates all the facts and efforts to the stand he had taken beforehand, in order to convince the reader and the public of his own positions, viewpoints and judgments? This is the question we asked of Vojimir Kljakovic, our prominent historian and expert precisely for this period of our history.

The two-volume work by Velimir Terzic, "Slom Kraljevine Jugoslavije," requires a special, multifaceted analysis of facts, interpretations, political positions and literature, in order to obtain a global picture of its content. However, its values of failures, accuracies of deviations can be seen even by looking only at some parts of it. The author obviously did not renounce some of his interpretations that were criticized nearly 20 years ago. It is conspicuous that the author's main preoccupation is Croatia, its position in the common state, and the resistance of bourgeois and pro-fascist parties to the situation created after 1918.

It is sufficient, Kljakovic says, to take, for example, the chapter "The Influence of the Fifth Column on the Course of the April War," in the part that deals with the activity of the fifth column in the army, navy, air force, and the rear. On these pages the author shows that only Croats committed such fifth-column treason. Such an interpretation, as Kljakovic underlines, is identical to the ideas and writings of political emigres such as the brothers Zivan and Radoje Knezevic, Radoje Vukcevic, general Todor Milicevic, Jovan Kontic, and others. In his search for "arguments" and in order to strengthen his assertions, Terzic props them with the writings and declarations of the Ustashas who, after the collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, exaggerated their activity in those April days. The author uncritically accepts their appraisal as a proof for his own assertions, and quotes names of traitor officers, saboteurs and the Ustasha who had returned from exile. He never proceeds like that in the case of the betrayal on the part of members of other Yugoslav nations or nationalities.

The Search for Justification: Moreover, in the mentioned chapters there is no example which could show whether such or similar phenomena took place elsewhere, too. One should not be so forgetful and close one's eyes to Anthony Eden's memoirs or the texts of the historian Elizabeth Barker, who quite correctly write how the British used to buy some ministers in the cabinets of Cvetkovic and Simovic, and gave them large sums of money for the service to the British interests. Terzic has not said a single word about this!

Kljakovic thinks that the analysis of this book should not ignore the fact that Terzic's theses are completely identical with those of the pan-Serbian emigration who left the country in April 1941. Thus, insisting on the responsibility of the Croats for the April catastrophe, Terzic writes that the "combat value of the Yugoslav army was significantly diminished by the organized treason and fifth-column activity of a large number of officers and soldiers from separatist, minority, and fascist organizations." Such an interpretation of the collapse of the kingdom--"because of the faithlessness of the Croats"--was given in Athens on 16 April 1941 to the British envoy Palairot. In Terzic's opinion, there is no dilemma: the treason existed only in Croatia, and there was none elsewhere. In order to support his assertions about the Croats' sympathy for the occupier, Terzic provided two provocative photos about the attitude of the "people" on the occasion of the entry of the Germans into Zagreb.

It is interesting, however, that Terzic is not always so consistent. He even shows understanding for the highest military organs in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia--the Supreme Command and the General Staff.

Thus, seeking a justification for their military failure, he says that they "acted under extraordinarily difficult conditions," that Simovic's commands "were not followed in a disciplined way, so that naturally there appeared ever greater difficulties and troubles in the Supreme Command's guidance of operations," "the more so as rebellion, defeatism and willingness to capitulate dominated in the rear." It is hard to believe, however, that Terzic is not acquainted with the inadequacy of the military command at the time and its proven inability to guide and organize war operations successfully.

Consistent in his views, Terzic in the same way explains the failures of war operations of various groups of armies. Thus, as Kljakovic explains to us, according to Terzic, the armies in Macedonia, eastern and central Serbia, Voivodina, and eastern Slavonia yielded to the enemy exclusively for military reasons ("inadequate power, incomplete mobilization and concentration" and similar). In the case of the armies on the territory of Croatia and Bosnia, reasons are completely different.

According to Terzic, they could not successfully perform their task "because of grave intrapolitical conditions," and the weak morale of the troops "who because of the Ustasha propaganda rebelled and fled in large numbers from their units."

Kljakovic says that the author does not speak about any breakdown of the other armies caused by poor morale, treason, cowardice and defeatism.

To him, all these phenomena took place exclusively on the territory of Croatia, and he forgets to make the significant statement that during the April war the enemy penetrated simultaneously on all the fronts and advanced with the same pace everywhere. He forgets to say that the same weaknesses of the Yugoslav army appeared everywhere, and that the main reason for the sudden defeat was the command, ubiquitous defeatism, poor troop morale, treason and cowardice on the part of those responsible for the successful waging of the war.

Omitted Works: Such and similar theses, statements and judgments could not but have some reverberation in the ranks of the political emigration. We asked Mr Kljakovic about this, and he responded:

Already the first edition of the book was greeted by the emigration with enthusiasm, but also with surprise that something like this could have appeared in a "communist state."

Petar Vukcevic, former colonel in the royal army wrote the following in the Chetnik emigre magazine NJEGOS, on 19 July 1967:

"Only lately some individuals (in Yugoslavia) have begun to have sober thoughts, if not in the political sphere, at least in the national and military sphere, forgetting the 'brotherhood and unity.' This can best be seen in the book 'Jugoslavijska u aprilskom ratu 1941' by Velimir Terzic..." Quoting that Terzic bases his book on the conclusion that "only Serbs defended Yugoslavia and all the others betrayed it," Vukcevic continues: "The facts presented in this book confirm all this, and it is outright appalling that such an appreciation of our [i.e. Royal] army, and especially the air force, could have come from the enemy communist sources." Using the content of Terzic's book, Vukcevic points out the "betrayal" of the Croats, which is frequently mentioned by Terzic, and concludes: "All the quotations are a clear recognition of the truth confirmed many times [by the emigres--writer's note] about the betrayal by the Croats." The question is now what will the emigres write at this point when Terzic has boosted their and his theses with new "arguments" which are of no use to anybody, except to this same emigration and the enemies of our community.

We told Kljakovic that a reader with an average amount of information will hardly believe the lack of the author's objectivity, in view of the large number of sources and ample bibliography used by Terzic in his work on the book.

Kljakovic said that it is indeed possible to get such an impression, but that the situation is nevertheless different. It is obvious that Terzic omitted all the works whose content does not agree with his thesis and views. He consciously omitted some works that did not suit him, although they must have been known to him, judging by the circumstances. He has not used any of about 10 studies published during the period of a few years

in the "Vojnohistorijski glasnik," but he used various much less important small newspaper articles. He omitted several studies from the ZADARSKA REVIJA, and the series "Simovic's Memoirs and Documents 1938-1942," which was published during 3 months in the newspaper POLITIKA. He neglected the studies of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences, Serbian Academy, memoirs of the Italian general Zanussi etc.

I would like to point out at the end, said Kljakovic, that all these criticisms of Terzic's book do not intend to change the historical truth. It is rather the example which shows that the author lacks political moderation and scientific approach to complex problems of our recent history. The same criteria that were valid when the first edition of the book was published 20 years ago have not changed, and neither has the truth or our political positions. Questions to which our nations and nationalities are sensitive should not be handled arbitrarily by individuals or groups who want to promote their own political goals at the expense of our community and its future.

There is nothing we should add to these words of Vojimir Kljakovic, who is always a thorough and articulate analyst of the exciting days of our history.

Short Biography

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 83 p 23

[Text] Terzic, Velimir (Golubovci, Titograd, 1908), general. Before WWII a Yugoslav army officer. Member of SKJ since 1941. Participated in the preparations for the uprising in 1941, and active in the war for national liberation from then. During the war chief of staff for Montenegro and Boka, deputy chief of staff of NOV and POJ, chief of staff for Croatia, deputy chief of staff of JA, and other duties. After the war, assistant to the minister of defense, army commander, chief of VVA JNA, chief of the military-historical Institute of JNA, and other duties. Published several articles and studies in the area of military history and warfare. Active service in JNA ceased in 1959. (Military Lexicon)

Further Criticism

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 83 p 40

[Text] For the last several days we have been exposed to a true bombardment from the pages of various periodicals with statements by Velimir Terzic, author of the book "The Collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia." Meticulously, detail by detail, general Terzic describes reasons that led to the collapse of the royal Yugoslav army, stating that he is interested in truth only and nothing else. However, Milutin Baltic, president of the Presidency of the SR Croatia in his talk on the occasion of the celebration of Zubacki Ubli reminded the crowd that in 1941 communists in Zagreb asked the army commander in the city to give them weapons so that they could arm the workers and confront the Germans who were already at the threshold of the country.

"This is," Baltic said, "the truth about Yugoslavia, and not what some people are trying to write now, stating that the royal general staff, treacherously, in fact, was able to defend Yugoslavia. But it allegedly could not do it because there was betrayal, mainly on the part of the Croatian people. This is a miserable and pitiful thing, especially when written by a man who spent the wartime with us, but who has, obviously, by his mentality and concepts remained an officer of the old Yugoslav army."

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BRIEFS

ALBANIAN, BULGARIAN ANTI-SFRY BOOKS--Athens, 14 Sep--At the Balkan book festival currently underway in Athens, Albania and Bulgaria have once again demonstrated that they accept only verbally the ideas of greater mutual acquaintance, understanding, and rapprochement among the Balkan peoples and that they still have not mastered enough strength to raise themselves above their known positions. The publishers from Tirana and Sofia have exhibited at the festival, among other things, some vulgar anti-Yugoslav pamphlets of the type of "Titoites" [by Enver Hoxha] which follow the line of falsification of the history of our peoples and nationalities and of negation of the achievements of our revolution and socialist construction and are aimed against Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and sovereignty. The Yugoslav Embassy in Athens has also officially called the attention of the festival's hosts to the fact that the Albanian and Bulgarian publishers are abusing their hospitality and are grossly violating the ideas and goals of the festival as well as the norms of international relationships. [Text] [AU271641 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 15 Sep 83 p 4]

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